

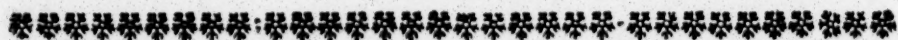


PLINY'S LETTERS

WITH

OBSERVATIONS.

VOLUME II.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHILIP H. RAVEN

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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THE
LETTERS
OF
PLINY the YOUNGER,
With OBSERVATIONS on each LETTER;
By JOHN EARL of ORRERY.
VOLUME II.

The THIRD EDITION.



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For PAUL VAILLANT. MDCCCLII.

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PLINY'S EPISTLES.

BOOK VI.

EPISTLE I.

PLINY to CALESTRIUS TYRO.

WHILE I remained on the other side of the *Po*, and you in the territories of *Picenum*, I did not feel the loss of you so much. But now, when I am returned to *Rome*, and you still remain at *Picenum*, I am much more desirous to see you ; whether that the places, where we used to be together, sharpen my remembrance of you, or that nothing excites a vehement desire to see our absent friends, so much as our approach to them ; and that the more hopes we have of enjoying our wishes, the more impatient we are for their accomplishment. Whatever is the reason, deliver me from my uneasiness : come

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A

to

PLINY'S EPISTLES.

to me, or I will return to the place, from whence I so inconsiderately hastened; if from this inducement only, to try whether, when you shall find yourself at *Rome* without me, you will write to me in the same manner I have written to you. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

We learn from this epistle, that *TYRO* was the intimate friend of *PLINY*. But, in what part of *Picenum* the house of *TYRO* was situated, is not mentioned. ^a *Picenum* is a large district of *Italy*, beyond the *Apennines*. It is thus described by *STRABO*. *Regio Italiæ, trans Apenninum, ab ipsis montibus usque ad mare Adriaticum extensa, inter Æsin et Castrum fluvios*: “A region of *Italy* beyond the *Apennines*, “extended from those mountains to the *Adriatic* sea, between the rivers *Æsis* and *Caster*.” It lies eastward of *Umbria*. *PLINY*, the historian, calls it, *quinta regio Italiæ*: “The fifth region of *Italy*.” He tells us, that the *Sabines* were the first inhabitants of this country, which became so populous, that no less than three hundred and sixty thousand of the *Picentes* submitted themselves, and entered into an alliance with the *Romans*. Thus far of their history may be depended upon: the derivation of their name is fabulous. *Picenum* is said to be so called from *pica*, a magpye, which bird went before the *Sabines*, and was their guide to conduct them from *Sabinia*, and to settle them in *Picenum*. The prosperity and the acquisitions of the *Romans* were so rapid, and extensive, that it is by no means surprising to find miracles, and various supernatural causes, assigned to the several events, that, in reality, were the springs, and sources, of the encreasing power of *Rome*.

^a The metropolis of *Picenum* is called *Ancona*; it was built by the *Sicilians*, on the *Adriatic* shore. *TRAJAN* adorned it with a very noble port.

EPISTLE II.

PLINY to ARRIANUS.

IN the courts of judicature I cannot help, sometimes, looking round, as usual, for MARCUS REGULUS. I will not say, I desire to see him there; why then should I look for him? He held our profession in great honour, and endeavoured to succeed in it; but he always trembled, grew pale, and wrote before he pleaded; and he never could leave off the custom of anointing, sometimes his right, and sometimes his left eye: his right, if he was to plead on the side of the plaintiff; his left, if on the side of the defendant. If he transferred this paint, or white patches, from one eyebrow to another, it was owing to an unmanly superstition; and it was the same weakness, added to a mistaken love of knowledge in general, that made him consult soothsayers upon the event of each cause. To mention particularly what was agreeable in him to those, who were concerned with him in the same cause; he was the man, who desired they might not be circumscribed in time, and always took care to provide an audience. What therefore could be more agreeable, than that you might speak as long as you pleased, while another person suffered all the odium, which might arise from the tediousness of your harangue: and that you might speak in the manner you chuse before an audience, which did not come together at your desire? But however these things happened, REGULUS did well to die: had he died before, he would have done better; for he might have lived, without any danger to the public, under a prince, in whose reign he could have done no mischief. It is therefore allowable, to be now and then at a loss for him: for after he died, the custom of being confined

to the space of two water-glasses ^b, or one, or sometimes half a one, prevailed, and was established. For, the advocates now grow tired of speaking before the cause is fully explained; and the judges would rather have the pleadings finished, than their judgements rightly informed. So great is the negligence, so great the indolence, and, above all, so great the irreverence shewn to our profession, and the dangerous consequences arising from that disrespect. Are we wiser than our ancestors? Are our laws more just than theirs, which allowed so many hours, so many days, so many adjournments of every pleading? Were they more slow of apprehension, or beyond measure dilatory? We speak more freely, understand more clearly, judge more righteously, because we hurry over causes in fewer hours, than they allowed days for the hearing of them. O REGULUS! your ambition gained you from all, what very few men, of the most excellent character, could procure. Indeed, as often as I sit in judgement, which happens oftner than when I plead, I allow as much time, as any person requires; for I think it would be rashness to guess, what space of time a cause, which I have not heard, may take up; or to put an end to an affair, the merits of which I cannot foresee; especially when patience in a judge ought to be considered as one of the chief branches of his duty, as it certainly is of justice. Well, but some unnecessary things are said: true, but it is better, that what is unnecessary should be spoken, than that what is necessary should be omitted. Besides, you cannot tell what is unnecessary, till you hear it. But of these, and all other corruptions of our city, a personal conversation will be best; for, your love of the public, as well as mine, makes you wish many things amended, which, at present, are not easily to be reformed.

^b *Clepsydræ*; answerable to our hour glasses. See Book 2. Ep. 11.

Now let us look back towards our domestic affairs : Are all things right with you ? With me there is not any new occurrence : the good, that happens, becomes more agreeable, by its constancy ; the evil, more tolerable, as I have been used to it. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

Throughout these epistles we frequently meet with references to particular customs, among the Romans, which however common and prevalent in the days of PLINY, appear, to us, unaccountable and surprizing. Of these a very extraordinary instance is here related of REGULUS : *Oculum modo dextrum, modo sinistrum circumlinebat* : “ He painted “ sometimes his right, and sometimes his left eye.” *Dextrum, si a petitore, alterum, si a possessore esset acturus* : “ According to the side, on which he was retained, his right “ or his left eye was anointed.”

The next sentence tells us the paint was white, *quod candidum splenium in hoc aut illud supercilium transferebat* : “ He “ changed the white patch alternately from eyebrow to “ eyebrow.” The *splenium* was used upon various occasions, and in different manners ; by some it was used medically, by others, ornamentally ; and by REGULUS, we find, superstitiously. The scholiasts give us this account of it. *Splenia sunt emplastra quædam ex unguentis, vel medicamine aliquo, ad capitis dolorem, vel oculorum morbum adhibita : ut autem frontis honor et elegantia constaret, fascia candida adhibebatur. Porro quidam frontem linebant unguento, vel cerusa : deinde panniculum sive fasciam ponebant, quod splenium dicebatur : a quibusdam existimatum oculorum operimentum ad arcendam nimiam lucem* : “ The *splenia* are certain plaisters made “ up of oils, or some other medicinal composition for the “ head-ach, or any ailment of the eyes : but that the grace- “ fulness and elegance of the face might not be destroyed, “ they were spread upon a white bandage. Some indeed “ anointed their faces with oil, or white lead : and then put “ on a fine thin silk, or linen band, which was called *splenium*, and was looked upon as a protection to the eyes “ against too glaring a light.” Notwithstanding this exposition, we are still at a loss, to conceive the exact form of the *splenia*. They seem to have been applied only to a particular part of the face, as in the case of REGULUS ; who re-

PLINY'S EPISTLES.

moved them, like patches, from one eyebrow to the other : but we learn from MARTIAL, that they were not always placed upon the forehead, or over the eyes.

In PHILÆNIM.

*Cur spleniato sæpe prodeam mento,
Albave pictus sana labra cerussa,
PHILÆNI, quæris? basiare te nolo^e.*

“ That I patch, and I paint, both my lips and my chin,
“ PHILÆNIS much takes it amiss :
“ But the nymph little dreams of my cunning therein,
“ 'Tis a shield against her, and her kifs.”

And by another epigram in the same author, we are induced to believe, that the *splenia* were no larger than patches, but were of a shining colour on the outside, and were worn in great numbers upon the face.

*Et numerosa linunt stellantem splenia frontem :
Ignoras quis scit? splenia tolle, leges^d.*

“ You want to know that face which patches hide,
“ You'll read the man, turn but those leaves aside.”

From these different quotations, it is not easy to determine, whether the Roman *splenum* may pass under the denomination of a mask, or whether we must confine it to the more narrow limits of a patch.

The subsequent parts of this epistle are so very abstruse, and are so entirely written in the stile and character of a Roman lawyer, that they are almost unintelligible to an English reader. It is scarce possible by a close translation, to give a full idea of PLINY's meaning. I shall therefore transcribe some of the most difficult passages, and attempt their explanation at large.

Jam illa perquam jucunda unà dicentibus, quod libera tempora petebat, quod audituros corrogabat: “ Let me now mention, “ says PLINY, the instances, wherein REGULUS acted, not “ only in a right, but in an agreeable manner. It was his “ desire, that the lawyers should speak as long as they

^e MARTIAL Lib. X. Ep. XXII. ^d Idem Lib. II. Ep. XXIX.

“ pleased ;

“ pleased ; and he took great pains to convene an audience
 “ to attend their speeches.” PLINY supposes REGULUS
 here, as acting in the character of a lawyer, and supposes
 himself as his antagonist ; for our author immediately adds :
Quid enim jucundius, quam sub alterius invidia, quamdiu velis,
et in alieno auditorio, quasi deprehensum, commodè dicere ? “ For
 “ what could be more agreeable to you, my ARRIANUS, if
 “ you were to plead, than not only to be unlimited in your
 “ time, but to go on uninterrupted, and that another person
 “ should incur all the odium, which might arise from the
 “ tediousness of your pleadings ? There is a satisfaction too,
 “ in seeing yourself surrounded by a numerous audience,
 “ who were not summoned either by your own pains, or
 “ interest, but by the sollicitation of another.”

O REGULE, *qui ambitione ab omnibus obtinebas quod fidei*
paucissimi præstant ! This exclamation, at the same time that
 it points out the ambition of REGULUS, lets us know his
 great interest and power in Rome. “ O REGULUS, your
 “ ambition brought you more crowded audiences, than the
 “ utmost industry of most other men could obtain, either
 “ in your life-time, or since your death.” The word *fidei*
 bears reference to a lawyer, who does his duty to his client,
 in a most faithful and laborious manner : who says all he can,
 in support of the cause, wherein he is engaged ; and whose
 integrity ought to entitle him to as many followers, as were
 subservient to the ambition of REGULUS.

Equidem quoties judico : “ as often as I sit as a judge.” By
 this sentence we find, that PLINY was frequently one of the
decemviri stlitibus judicandis. The private causes, among the
 Romans, to be adjudged by law, belonged to the *prætores*
urbani, who either gave judgement themselves, or appointed
 others to represent them, for that purpose. The persons so
 appointed were called *decemviri stlitibus judicandis*, as has
 been mentioned in the observations on the last epistle of the
 fifth book. The word *stlitibus* signifies *super lites*. This
 office was one of the first steps to preferment, for men of
 talents and industry ; and was thought sufficiently honour-
 able to be inscribed upon their tombs, of which ROSINUS^e
 has given us an example,

Scæva quæstor. Decemvir
Stlitibus judicandis, &c.

^e ROSIN. Antiquitates, Lib. 7. Cap. XXX.

PLINY'S EPISTLES.

Among the several preceding letters from PLINY to ARRIANUS^a, which we have hitherto perused, there is not a stronger instance of his confidence in this particular friend, than what appears from two sentences in the epistle before us: the first relates to public affairs: *Sed de his melius coram, ut de pluribus vitiis civitatis*: "But this, as well as many other vices that have crept into our constitution, may be the subject of our discourse, when we meet:" Which includes a promise of unbofoming his thoughts, upon the corruptions of the age, even when TRAJAN reigned, in a personal conversation. The other, with which he finishes the epistle, relates to his own family, and the sphere in which he moves at home. *Leviora incommoda, quod assuevi*: "Use has lightened the burthen of my misfortunes." It appears from this hint, that whatever crosses, and inconveniences, our author may have felt in domestic life, and from which the happiest man cannot boast himself entirely exempt, they had been all communicated to ARRIANUS.

^a Book 1. Ep. 2. Book 2. Ep. 11, 12. Book 4. Ep. 8. 12.

EPISTLE III.

PLINY to VERUS.

I Return you thanks, that you have undertaken to improve that small piece of land, which I gave to my nurse. It was worth, at the time of my making the present, an hundred thousand sesterces^f. Afterwards, the yearly income decreasing, the value of it was also diminished, which, under your care, will now be restored. But remember, that I do not recommend to your care the culture of the trees, or the soil, (although I would not have them neglected) but

^f *Centum millium nummum*, in English money, 807 l. 5 s. 10 d. *Nummus*, when mentioned as a piece of money, was the same as the *sestertius*, the lesser sesterce; a silver coin equal to the fourth part of a *denarius*. *Sestertium*, in the neuter gender, signifies *mille sestertium nummorum*; which occasions the great difference, when sesterces are mentioned.

I recommend

I recommend my own gift : For she, who received it from me, cannot be more solicitous for its improvement, than I am, who gave it to her. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

The nurses of the ancients were looked upon as a second kind of parent, and they were treated accordingly. In the early age of HOMER we find EURYCLEA, the nurse of ULYSSES, represented as a woman of remarkable prudence ; she bears a considerable part in the *Odyssey*, and her name always appears to advantage. VIRGIL has bestowed an eternal monument upon the nurse of ÆNEAS ; he begins his seventh book to her memory.

*Tu quoque, littoribus nostris, ÆNEIA nutrix,
Æternam moriens famam, CAJETA, dedisti :
Et nunc servat honos sedem tuus ; ossaque nomen
Hesperia in magna, si quæ est ea gloria, signat.*

- “ You too, CAJETA, whose indulgent cares
- “ Nurs’d the great chief, and form’d his tender years,
- “ Expiring here (an ever-honour’d name !)
- “ Adorn HESPERIA with immortal fame :
- “ Thy name survives to please thy pensive ghost ;
- “ Thy sacred reliques grace the *Latian* coast.”

The prophecy of the poet hath been fulfilled, and CAJETA has not lost, she has only exchanged one letter of her name. *Gaieta* is a port in the old *Campania felix*, situated on the sea of *Naples*, in the principality of *Lavoro*. When the *Austrians* reduced the kingdom of *Naples*, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seven, this city held out a considerable time. And again, when the *Spaniards* recovered *Naples* from the *Austrians*, in the year seventeen hundred and thirty four, *Gaieta* made a noble defence, and surrendered upon very honourable terms. We may hence suppose, in deference to VIRGIL, that the Nurse CAJETA still remains the tutelar genius of the place.

The persons, whose milk has sustained, and whose care has defended us in our infant state, ought to receive from

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us, in our riper years, such returns of gratitude, as are exemplified in this epistle. To make the descent of life smooth and easy to those, who made the ascent of it gentle and gradual to us, seems as indispensable a moral duty, as any whatever: and our generosity will appear the more conspicuous upon this occasion, as it may be presumed, that scarce any other motive, except gratitude, can prejudice us, in favour of females, whose breasts, so desirable to helpless infants, have long since lost all their charms.

EPISTLE IV.

PLINY to CALPURNIA.

MY business was never more disagreeable to me, than at present, since it not only hindered me from accompanying you, when you went, upon account of your health, into *Campania*, but from following you thither. I was now indeed most particularly impatient to be with you, that I might believe my own eyes, and learn from them, whether you gather spirits and strength; and how you pass away your time amidst the retirements, the delights, and the prodigious fertility of that country: for, it is with no small concern, that I have desired to see you perfectly in health. To live in ignorance of the person, whom we most ardently love, is a state of suspense and anxiety: but I am now terrified, and labour under a double perplexity, both upon account of your absence, and upon account of your indisposition. I fear all things; I imagine all things: And what is particularly the nature of fear, my mind dwells most on those things, which I most dread. I therefore conjure you to alleviate my fears by one, or even two letters in a day; for while I read your letters, my pain will cease; but when they are read, all my alarms will return. Farewell.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

There are three letters only extant from PLINY to CALPURNIA; but they are such, as make us wish their number much greater. They are images of a constant, tender heart, resting upon the basis of true virtue, and conjugal affection. CALPURNIA appears to have been a lady of a very refined constitution: And from the expression, *quid corpusculo acquireres*, we may infer, that the frame of her body was not only tender, but small; like a delicate flower, unable to endure a storm, and bending at every blast of wind.

It is no wonder, that the nephew of PLINY the natural historian should commend the soil and produce of *Campania*, a territory, which CICERO calls the granary of *Italy*; and which, in general, obtained the title of *Campania felix*. The description of it, by LUCIUS FLORUS, appears in the highest terms: *Omnium, non modo Italia, sed toto orbe terrarum pulcherrima Campaniæ plaga est: Nihil mollius cælo: Denique bis floribus vernat: Nihil uberius solo: ideo Liberi Cererisque certamen dicitur. Nihil hospitalius mari: Hic illi nobiles portus, Cajeta, Misenus, & tepentes fontibus Baiæ; Lucrinus & Avernus quædam maris otia*^h: “The country of
 “ *Campania* not only exceeds all *Italy*, but is not to be parallel’d in the whole world. Nothing can be softer than
 “ the climate: It bears a double spring of flowers. Nothing
 “ can be more fruitful than the soil: It is said therefore to
 “ have occasioned a contest between BACCHUS and CERES,
 “ who should adorn it most. The sea itself is hospitable
 “ and commodious: Here are those noble harbours, *Cajeta*,
 “ *Misenus*, and the warm springs of *Baiæ*; the Lucrine
 “ and Avernine lakes, which seem recesses from the sea.”
 PLINY the elder is no less profuse in his praises of *Campania*: he affirms, *gaudentis opus esse naturæ*ⁱ: “that it was a work
 “ of nature in the height of joy.” Upon the whole, there could not be a finer situation for the recovery of declining health. One of the scholiasts tells us, that *villa Camilliana*, the country seat of CALPURNIA’s grandfather, FABATUS, was in *Campania*; and we may therefore fix her at his house, when she received this most affectionate epistle from her husband.

^h L. ANNÆ. Flor. Lib. 1. Cap. 16.

ⁱ PLIN. Natur. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 5.

EPISTLE V.

PLINY to URSUS.

I Informed you already, that VARENUS had obtained leave to summon witnesses on his behalf: This determination appeared equitable to many, and to some unjust. Both sides were obstinate in their way of thinking. LICINIUS NEPOS in particular, who, at the next meeting of the senate, when they were debating upon other affairs, made a speech concerning their last resolution, and revived a cause, that had been before concluded. He also added, that the consuls should be requested, to propose, whether, under the example of the law, to hinder votes from being illegally procured by candidates for public offices, it should please the senate for the future, that this addition should be made to the law against bribery; that, as the accusers, by that law, had a right to examine, and summon their witnesses, the accused also should be empowered to do the same. This speech displeased many; they thought it unreasonable, improper, and preposterous; and that he was in the wrong, after having omitted speaking in due time, to find fault now with a decree, to which, whilst it was in debate, he might have made his objections. JUBENTIUS CELSUS, the prætor, reprimanded him severely, and with many words, calling him a reformer of the senate. NEPOS answered him, and CELSUS replied: Neither of them refrained from reproaches. I am unwilling to tell you, what I could not hear without concern. For which reason, I was the more inclined to condemn the behaviour of some of our fraternity^k, who, from a desire of hearing,

^k The Latin is *e numero nostris*, which may refer either to the senators, or the lawyers; probably to the latter.

ran backward and forward, now to CELSUS, then to NEPOS, according as either of them was speaking; and at one time seemed to encourage and inflame, and at another, to reconcile and appease: frequently they wished CÆSAR to be propitious to each, sometimes to both; as we see in a comedy. I must own it was very disagreeable to me, because each of them was informed of what his antagonist intended to say; for CELSUS answered NEPOS out of his pocket-book, and NEPOS replied to CELSUS from his notes. The friends on both sides could so little forbear tatling, that the two disputants knew each other's arguments, as if they had mutually agreed upon them before hand. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

PLINY, in the first sentence, *scripseram tenuisse VARENUM*, &c. refers to the twentieth epistle of the fifth book, written to URSUS, and giving an account of the accusation brought against VARENUM by the *Bithynians*. FONTEIUS MAGNUS, a *Bithynian*, appeared against VARENUM, as did also NIGRINUS. This epistle is a continuation of those proceedings: and they are still farther continued in the thirteenth epistle¹ of this book. When epistles to the same person, and upon the same subject, are so widely dispersed, and so unaccountably separated, it is impossible, were the matter of them ever so interesting, to carry on the connexion by memory, or to retain the material circumstances with any degree of exactness. In the present state of PLINY's letters, they appear like the armour of the *Macedonians* described by PLUTARCH; where helmets were thrown on shields, *Cretan* targets upon *Thracian* bucklers, and where arrows were mingled among swords, spears, and coats of mail: yet the whole was so beautifully wrought and polished, that each particular piece

¹ Addressed to URSUS. There are also two epistles to MACRINUS, the 6th and 10th epistle of the 7th book on this particular cause, between VARENUM and the *Bithynians*.

struck the eye separately, and glittered by itself, amidst all the confusion of disorder.

Petendum a consulibus, ut referrent sub exemplo legis ambitus de lege repetundarum, an placeret in futurum ad eam legem adjici, ut, sicut accusatoribus inquirendi, testibusque denuntiandi potestas ex ea lege esset, ita reo quoque fieret: “ That there should be a request to the consuls, that they “ should declare their sense on the subject of the law of “ canvassing, and the law against receiving bribes, whether for the future, they judged this addition proper to “ the forementioned law, that as the accusers had from “ that law, a power granted to make enquiry, and declaration of any offenders, so those, who were accused, “ might have the same privilege.” By this passage, it is plain, that LICINIUS NEPOS thought there was a distinction between the forms of trial on these two laws, the *lex ambitus*, and *lex de repetundis*. His opinion was, that the *lex ambitus* gave the accused equal power of summoning witnesses with the accusers; but that the *lex de repetundis* did not grant the same. The *leges de ambitu* were originally made against indirect or unlawful courses, used in canvassing for offices. The *leges de pecuniis repetundis* were made against such publick officers, judges, and magistrates of every kind, who had taken bribes.

The proposal of NEPOS was an insult upon the senate, they having granted to VARENUS a permission of summoning his witnesses. Let the consuls, says NEPOS, propose a question, “ whether for the future there shall be such a “ permission granted.” From hence it appears, that NEPOS absolutely supposes, that persons accused, under the *lex de repetundis*, never before had such a liberty allowed them; a fact, which was not true. His question was insidious; and the debate upon such a question must have brought a reflexion upon the senate: For, if the opinion had prevailed, that the person accused should not have such a permission; the consequence must be, that the senate had decreed a licence to VARENUS, which was against law, and improper to be made a precedent; or, if the opinion should be, that for the future such a licence should be permitted, even that decision must imply, that there had not been before any such practice allowed.

The

The account, which one of the commentators ^m gives us of JUBENTIUS CELSUS the prætor, is worthy of notice : he tells us, that CELSUS being engaged in a plot against DOMITIAN, and not only accused, but condemned, had recourse to an excellent illusion, by which he saved his life. As soon as he was seized, and while the officers were preparing to bind him, he entreated to speak with DOMITIAN in private, whom, in the most suppliant manner, he addressed by the highest titles, and invoked as a God ⁿ, declaring, that he himself was not guilty of any crime against the emperor ; but if he might obtain his liberty for a little while, he would discover the whole affair, and would convict many persons, although he was not one of their conspiracy. He obtained his liberty, but, upon his dismissal, made not the least discovery ; always deferring his confession from time to time, upon some pretence or other, until DOMITIAN was murdered by PARTHENIUS, and others of his own household. It is impossible, on this occasion, not to recollect a remarkable case, which happened in the reign of the late King WILLIAM, when a nobleman was tried, and found guilty of high treason : after his condemnation he gave broad hints, if not promises, of important discoveries, and dangerous secrets, which he was not only able, but willing to lay open to the King and his ministers : He was listened to with great attention : But he added, that as his testimony, in his present circumstances, could be of no validity, he should defer giving it, till he was pardoned. A pardon under the great seal was obtained for him ; as soon as he had received it, he declared, (holding the pardon in his hand) that all the insinuations, which he had thrown out before, were to save his life ; and that he absolutely knew not any one circumstance, or secret, whatever against the government except that, for which he had already been condemned.

^m CATANEUS.

ⁿ The emperor assumed to himself divine honours, and the people stiled him, *our Lord and our God*.

EPISTLE VI.

PLINY to MINUTIUS FUNDANUS.

I Was never more desirous to see you at *Rome*, than at present, and I entreat you to be here, as soon as you can. I want a friend to second my intentions, and divide my present labour, and care. JULIUS NASO is a candidate for an office of much honour; his competitors are many, and of good character, in overcoming whom, the difficulty is not less, than the glory. I am therefore in such suspense, and am so much agitated between hope and fear, that I forget I have been a consul. For I appear to myself again a candidate for those very employments, through which I have already passed. NASO's long attachment to me deserves such attention. A friendship between me and his father could not be indeed, upon account of my age; but his father has been represented to me, when I was a young man, as a person of high reputation. He had not only an esteem for learning, but for learned men, and came almost every day to hear QUINTILIAN and NICETES the priest, whose declamations I then constantly attended. He was a man, besides, highly respected, and of great dignity, and whose memory ought to be serviceable to his son on all occasions; but there are many senators, who were unacquainted with the father, and many, who knew him well: these latter honour a man only while living: therefore the struggle and difficulty will be the greater burthen upon my friend, as his interest is not yet well established. For although he must always derive much honour from his father's great character, yet that will be of little use to him in his present pursuit. He seems to have been sensible of this, and has acted accordingly, by making and cultivating friendships, as if he had foreseen this particular time. He chose

chose me as worthy of his affection and imitation, as soon as his years permitted him to form a judgement : He always has been assiduous at my pleadings, and at my rehearsals ; he has been the earliest in attendance upon all my little performances, even at their very first appearance : of late, alone ; heretofore, with his brother, whose charge, as he is now dead, I ought to undertake, and whose place I ought to supply ; for I am grieved at the unhappy and undeserved fate of the one, and that the other should want the assistance of the best of brothers, and be left to depend entirely upon friends ; for which reasons, I insist upon your coming and joining your interest with mine. It is much to my advantage, that you should shew yourself, and accompany me, while I am canvassing. Your authority is so great, that I believe I can even ask my own friends with more certainty of success. Break any engagements, that may retain you. My circumstances, my friendship, and my station require this. I have undertaken to solicit for him, and my undertaking is universally known. The application is mine, the hazard is mine. In short, if NASO succeeds, the honour is his own ; if he is defeated, the disgrace is mine. Adieu.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

There are three letters extant from PLINY to MINUTIUS FUNDANUS. The ninth epistle of the first book, which treats of common occurrences ; the fifteenth epistle of the fourth book, which contains not only a character of ASINIUS RUFUS, but an earnest request to FUNDANUS, who was then consul elect, to chuse RUFUS as his quæstor ; and this epistle, in favour of JULIUS NASO. From all these epistles it appears, that FUNDANUS was the particular friend of PLINY. The account given of him by CATANÆUS is in these words. *Eruditus fuit, ut qui se, ab ineunte ætate, altioribus studiis dedisset : ex duabus natis, alteram vix pubertatem ingressam amisit. Proconsul Asiæ ex ADRIANI rescripto monitus, ne sine objectu criminum Christianos*

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stianos condemnaret : auctores EUSEBIUS, et OROSIUS °: "He was a man of great learning, and had applied himself early in life to the deepest studies: He had two daughters, one of whom he lost in her tender years. He was proconsul in *Asia*, and, as EUSEBIUS and OROSIUS tell us, was ordered by a mandate from the emperor ADRIAN, not to condemn the Christians, except they were accused of crimes against the state." To support this assertion, let us remember, that ADRIAN himself was in *Asia*. He made a considerable stay at *Athens*: He assumed to himself the honour of Archon^p, and established many new laws and privileges in the city: He was admitted into the *Eleusinian* mysteries, and was constantly present at the solemn sports of the *Athenians*. The pagan zeal and superstition of ADRIAN occasioned a fresh persecution of the Christians; but by the apologies of QUADRATUS, bishop of *Athens*, and ARISTIDES, a Christian Philosopher, the emperor was prevailed upon to write to the governors of provinces; *That the Christians should not be punished for the future, except they had manifestly transgressed the laws of the empire.* It is probable, that FUNDANUS was one of the proconsuls written to upon this occasion; at least we are certain, that in TRAJAN's reign, he was a man of considerable power and dignity in the state.

Dicenti mihi sollicitè adsistit, assidet recitanti. This sentence shews the difference between *dicere* and *recitare*. "JULIUS NASO, says PLINY, always stood close to me when I was speaking as a lawyer, in the courts: He sat close to me when I was rehearsing any of my works." While the Roman lawyers pleaded (*dum dicebant*) before the senate, or in the courts of judicature, the judges only sat down; the pleaders, or, to use a modern expression, the council on both sides stood up; their friends and intimate acquaintance stood near them, or walked indiscriminately about the court: Thus, in the last epistle PLINY tells us, *prout hic vel ille diceret, cupiditate audiendi cursitabant.* But at rehearsals (*dum recitabant*) as of poems, funeral orations, or panegyrics, the audience sat down, and the person, who rehearsed, stood up alone; his friends usually sat as near him as possible: and therefore PLINY acknowledges the obligations he owes to JULIUS NASO in both these cases.

° Not. 8. in ep. 9. Lib. 1. p. 33. editio CORTII, & LONGOLII.

^p Chief magistrate of *Athens*.

Suscepi candidatum : "I have undertaken to act the part of
"a candidate." The candidates assumed their name, *a togâ
candidâ*, "from a white gown," which they wore. The
toga candida differed very much from the *togâ albâ*^a. They
were both white gowns: The latter had only the natural
whiteness of the wool; the former, worn by candidates for
employments, had an artificial white dye, or, if that could
not be procured, chalk was used, to encrease the whiteness
of the garment^b. *Intendendæ albedinis causâ cretam addide-
runt*^c : To augment the whiteness, they added chalk." As
if artifice was the way to preferment, the part to be acted
by the candidate^d was difficult in every particular: He was
to make a circuit round the city very often: He was to call
every individual person by his name: But in this part of the
labour he had an assistant, a *nomenclator*, who whispered the
name in his ear; and he was to behave himself with the ut-
most address, and civility, to the meanest and most inconfi-
derable citizen. Is it laziness or pride, that prompts a man
of a retired nature to imagine, there is scarce any employ-
ment in the world, either sufficiently lucrative or honourable
to make amends for such needless industry?

^a The *toga alba* was the gown ordinarily worn by the Roman
citizens.

^b The candidates always wore their gowns open and ungirted.

^c ROSINI *antiquitates*, Lib. 5. Cap. 33. ex ISIDORO.

^d PLINY in his 9th ep. B. 2. hath this expression upon the same
occasion, *prenso amicos, supplico, ambio domos, stationesque circumeo*,
which explains in general the duty of a candidate.

EPISTLE VII.

PLINY to CALPURNIA.

YOUR letter tells me how deeply you were af-
fected by my absence, and that you often place
my writings near you^a, as your only comfort. I am
much pleased to find, that I am so often in your

^a *In vestigio meo colloces*. This sentence is explained by BUCH-
NERUS the commentator, in a manner, that must make us smile.
He says, speaking as in the person of PLINY, (*in vestigio*) *ea lecti
parte, quâ aliàs cubare soleo præsens*.

B 2

thoughts,

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thoughts, and that you can supply the want of my company in this obliging manner. In return, I am employed in reading over and over your letters, which to me always appear new: but they still excite my impatience of seeing you; for, if your letters contain so much sweetness, how much more charming must your conversation prove! However, continue to write frequently; although what gives me pleasure, torments me at the same time. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

The loss of CALPURNIA's letters, in answer to those, which she received from her husband, is much to be regretted. A lady of her delicacy and accomplishments must be happy in the style and manner of her writings, more especially, when they were dictated and inspired by love. History scarce affords a brighter example of matrimonial friendship, than that which appears between PLINY and CALPURNIA. They seem to have been suited to each other; and perfectly harmonious in disposition, and inclinations: nor did the want of children hinder the cement from being as close, and as firm, as the most numerous, or the most hopeful offspring could have rendered it. PLINY indeed, in several epistles, testifies a great desire to be a father: But if he knew not the joy of a parent, neither did he know the sorrow: he escaped numberless fears, and many hours of inexpressible anxiety; hours, which the happiest parent must undergo.

EPISTLE VIII.

PLINY to PRISCUS.

YOU have long known, and you esteem ATTILIUS CRESCENS, as every worthy man must do, who is acquainted with him. My affection for him is not like that of many others, but is of the strongest nature. The cities, in which we were born, are at no greater distance, than one day's journey; and while
we

we were very young, our mutual friendship began, when affection is most fervent. It has not been lessened, but encreased, by the judgement of our riper years. They, who are most particularly acquainted with either of us, know this to be true. For he always speaks of my friendship in the warmest terms, and I am always declaring how much I have his reputation at heart, and interest myself in every thing, that may contribute to his ease, and his welfare. So that when he was apprehensive of some insolent treatment from a certain person, who was soon after to enter upon the Office of tribune of the people, upon his informing me of it, I answered,

While these my eyes behold the light, no hand
Shall dare to wrong thee, on this crowded strand^r.

But, say you, why do you tell me this? That you may know, no injury can be offered to ATTILIUS, without my feeling it. Again you'll say, why do you tell me this? VALERIUS VARUS owed him a sum of money: Our friend MAXIMUS is heir to VARUS; I have a great affection for MAXIMUS; but you are more intimately acquainted with him. I conjure you therefore, and absolutely insist, by the laws of friendship, that you take care, that my ATTILIUS shall receive, not only the principal sum, but the interest due upon it for many years. He is a man, who never borrows money of others, but is careful of his own. He has no means to support himself, no income, but what his frugality affords. For he pursues his studies, in which he greatly excels, only as they afford him honour and delight. The least loss gives him much anxiety; because the reparation of it must be heavier upon him, than upon most other men. Deliver him, deliver me from this uneasiness: Permit me to enjoy the sweetness of his

^r Vide HOM. II. α, γ. 88, 89.

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temper, and the inoffensive wit of his conversation. I cannot bear to see a friend dispirited, whose mirth hinders me from dejection. In short, you know the good humour of the man; which I beg you to preserve, so that no injury may change it into rancour and bitterness. Depend upon it, his resentments are as strong, as his affections. A noble and an open heart cannot bear a loss attended with an affront. But however he may bear it, I shall look upon myself as injured, and ill used; and shall resent it more upon his account, than upon my own. But why do I send you these injunctions, which indeed are almost threats? I had better proceed in the path, which I pursued at first, by entreating and beseeching you to grant him your assistance; that he may have no reason to imagine himself neglected by me, which I much dread; nor I, to think myself disregarded by you. But you will grant him your assistance, if my requests are as prevalent with you, as his are with me. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This letter, which is written upon a particular occasion, and to a particular friend, carries in it nothing more remarkable, than what we have already seen; the constant and unwearied friendship of PLINY to those, for whom he professed an affection. We find in TULLY many epistles of this kind; the thirteenth book *ad familiares* is almost filled with letters of recommendation. TULLY was the model, from whom our author planned his writings. He tells REGULUS, *Est mihi cum CICERONE æmulatio: nec sum contentus eloquentia seculi nostri*[†]: “I would wish to emulate CICERO, and my ideas of eloquence go beyond what we meet with in the present times.” And, when he writes to ARRIANUS, he says, *Te quidem (ut scribis) ob hoc maxime delectat auguratus meus, quod MARCUS TULLIUS augur fuit. Lætari enim, quod honoribus ejus insistam, quem*

[†] Lib. 1. ep. 5.

emulari in studiis cupio^a: "The circumstance of my being
" an augur pleases you most (as you express in your letter)
" because TULLY had been in that office before: for you
" are glad, that I should follow him in my rise to honours,
" whom I wish to emulate in literature." In a letter to
ARISTO, his fears are expressed very modestly; *Ego verear,*
ne me non satis deceat, quod decuit MARCUM TULLIUM^b:
" I fear, that dignity would sit ill upon me, which greatly
" became TULLY."

CICERO in prose, like HOMER in poetry, stands alone,
never to be equalled, always to be imitated. The perfection
of the Roman language was established in the days of TULLY;
it was in the decline in the days of PLINY. But what abilities,
what eloquence can make amends, for those inhumane ex-
pressions, which we find in some of TULLY's letters, when
he speaks of the murder of JULIUS CÆSAR? *Quam vel-*
lem, ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me idibus Martiis invitasses!
Reliquiarum nihil haberemus: "O that I had been invited
" to that delightful banquet, on the ides of March! We
" would have had no offals." And again, *Vestri pulcherri-*
mi facti ille furiosus (i. e. ANTONIUS) me principem dicit
fuisse; utinam quidem fuisset: "That madman, MARK
" ANTONY, says, that I was the instrument and first
" promoter of that noble deed: I wish I had been." How
different are such exclamations from that incense of flat-
tery, which TULLY frequently offers to JULIUS CÆSAR,
when living! Such insults upon the dead make TULLY ap-
pear mean spirited, and below himself; so that in a com-
parison between CICERO and PLINY, we may determine
the first to be the greater orator, but the last the better man.

^a Lib. 4. ep. 8.

^b Lib. 5. ep. 3.

EPISTLE IX.

PLINY to CORNELIUS TACITUS.

YOU have sent me a recommendation of JULIUS
Naso the candidate. Is it to me you recom-
mend Naso? What if you had recommended me to
myself? However I can easily forgive you; for I

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should have sent you a letter in his favour, if you had been at *Rome* and I in the country. But in truth our sollicitude for our friends makes us imagine every application in their behalf indispensably necessary. However don't neglect to solicit others. I shall be a partaker of your good wishes, and shall do what I can to forward and assist them. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

The sixth epistle of this book shews us how warmly PLINY espoused the pretensions of JULIUS NASO, who, we find by his applications to CORNELIUS TACITUS, had acted in the manner, which PLINY certifies to FUNDANUS in that epistle: *Quasi provideret hoc tempus, sedulò fecit: paravit amicos; quos paraverat coluit*: "He acted carefully, as if he had foreseen the time: He had procured to himself friends, and those, whom he had gained, he preserved."

EPISTLE X.

PLINY to ALBINUS.

WHEN I came to the country house of my mother-in-law, in the *Alban* territories, a house, which once belonged to RUFUS VERGINIUS, the place renewed in me, not without grief, the remembrance of that great and good man: For he used to live much in this retirement, and called it the little nest of his old age. Which way soever I turned, my heart and my eyes still wished, and sought for him. The sight of his monument gave me pleasure, but it was succeeded by pain; for it is yet unfinished, nor is the difficulty of the work, which is moderate, or rather small, the real cause; but the negligence of the person, to whom the care of it was committed. The consideration, that the ashes and unregarded remains of a man, the glory of whose memory is known

known in all parts of the world, should, after the space of ten years, (for so long it is since he died,) lie without being graced by an inscription, or even a name, not only filled me with pity, but indignation. But he had given orders, that his glorious and immortal action should be commemorated in these lines ;

RUFUS, who VINDEK overcame,
Lies buried in this tomb :
To empire he preferr'd his fame,
To his own merits, *Rome*.

So seldom is friendship constant, and so soon are the dead forgotten, that we ought to build our own sepulchres ; and execute, before we die, the duties incumbent upon our heirs. For who has not reason to dread, what we see has happened to VERGINIUS ? whose distinguished character, as it makes this treatment more shameful, so it makes it more notorious. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

In the fourth epistle of the first book, addressed by PLINY to his mother-in-law, POMPEIA CELERINA, he takes notice of several of her country houses, without mentioning the *villa Alsiensis* ; which was probably a later purchase. It was, we may presume, in the neighbourhood of *Alsum* ; at least in the district belonging to that city ; a district, which is mentioned particularly by VALERIUS MAXIMUS, where he says, *M. ÆMILIUM PORSINAM a L. CASSIO accusatum crimine nimis sublimè extructæ villæ in Alsiensi agro, populus Romanus gravi mulctâ affecit* : “ The Roman people inflicted
“ a heavy fine upon M. ÆMILIUS PORSINA, whose ac-
“ cuser was LUCIUS CASSIUS, for having built too mag-
“ nificent an house for a private person, at *Alsum*.” The city of *Alsum* is said to have been built by ALESUS, a Grecian, the friend of AGAMEMNON.

Nec

*Nec non Argolico dilectum littus ALESO
Alfium.*

Sil. Ital. libr. 8.

“ And *Alfium's* shore, ALESUS' dear delight.”

The situation of *Alfium* is mentioned by PLINY the historian: But the town is now reduced to a single castle, in the duchy of *Bracciano*. The verses, which refer to a most noble self-conquest in VERGINIUS RUFUS, are again inserted in the nineteenth epistle of the ninth book, where his story may be more particularly related.

EPISTLE XI.

PLINY to MAXIMUS.

O Happy day! the præfect of the city admitted me into his own court, where I had the pleasure of hearing two young men of great hopes, and excellent dispositions, plead before us, against each other, FUSCUS SALINATOR^t, and NUMIDIUS QUADRATUS^u. Their worth is equal, and they will not only be an ornament to this age, but to learning itself. They ought to be admired for their probity, steadiness, decent dress, unaffected language, manly voice, strong memory, great wit, and equal judgement; all which gave me the most sensible pleasure. And more particularly, because they looked upon me as their guide and instructor; and seemed to those, who heard them, to be desirous of treading in my footsteps. O joyful day! (let me again repeat it) and to be marked with the whitest stone: for what can please the public more effectually, than that two noble young men should endeavour to obtain honour and

^t The particular character of FUSCUS SALINATOR will be found in the 26th epistle of this book.

^u The education of NUMIDIUS QUADRATUS is described by PLINY, in the 24th epistle of book 7.

reputation

reputation by their studies? Or, what can be more acceptable to me, than that I should be proposed, as their example, in the pursuit of virtue?

Such joy I beseech the Gods always to allow me: and I implore the same Gods, you are my witness^w, that they would make all those persons, who think me worthy of imitation, better men than I am. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The generosity of **PLINY**, in encouraging, and commending two hopeful young Romans, is much lessened by several vain expressions, dispersed throughout this epistle. The more glory a man assumes to himself, the more glory the world will take from him. Crowns of laurel are to be received from others, not to be given to us by ourselves. But, such is human frailty, that even the wisest and the best men are often subject to vanity. It was so prevailing a passion among the Romans, that it was scarce looked upon as a fault. **TULLY** was remarkably vain: **PLINY** has imitated him, now and then, too closely in that particular. But **TULLY** appears conscious of his error, where he says, *sum avidior etiam quam satis est gloriæ*: “I am covetous of fame perhaps to a fault.” Pliny seems either not to know, or resolved not to own his weakness; which although too apparent in this, and in some other epistles, yet, is so far to be excused, as it takes rise in virtue, and is only a consciousness of real merit carried to excess.

Adhibitus in consilium a præfecto urbis: “The præfect admitted me into his council.” Here we see the great power of the præfect of *Rome*; but the particular expression, *in consilium*, may bear different significations. *Consilium* sometimes signifies the Roman senate: Thus **TULLY** *de Divinatione*, *Nec vero somnia graviora, a summo consilio neglecta sunt*: “Nor does the senate neglect dreams, that

^w This sentence is translated according to the edition of **PLINY** by **LONGOLIUS**. *Deos oro: ab iisdem, teste te, peto*. In the *variorum* edition we read it, *deos oro: ac eosdem testes peto*. **MATTAIRE** inserts the former reading, which, in my opinion, seems most agreeable to the sense of the author.

“ seem to carry importance with them.” It sometimes again signifies the Roman privy council, as in SÜETONIUS, who speaking of AUGUSTUS, says, *Sibique instituit consilia sortiri semestria, cum quibus de negotiis, ad frequentem senatum referendis, ante tractaret*: “ And for his own purposes, he “ ordered councils to be held every six months, where he “ might discuss the affairs, that were to be produced in the “ open senate.” In this epistle, the *consilium* seems to signify a council convened together, and chosen by the power, and at the discretion of the *city præfekt*; a magistrate originally instituted by ROMULUS, and in some measure answerable to our Lord Mayor; but whose authority was so much encreased under the emperors, that it seemed a new office. The *præfektus urbis*, in the time of ROMULUS, sat as city judge, in all causes between the master and the servant; the orphans and their guardians; the buyer and the seller. In the absence of the king, all the regal authority was vested in him: And the same powers, and jurisdiction, were continued to him under the consular government. In the reign of AUGUSTUS this office is mentioned by SÜETONIUS as a new institution: *Quoque plures partem administrandæ reipubl. caperent, nova officia excogitavit: curam operum publicorum, viarum, aquarum, alvei Tiberis, frumenti populo dividendi, præfekturam urbis*: “ That more hands “ might be employed in the management of public affairs, “ the emperor invented new employments. A præfekt of “ the city was appointed for the superintendency of the “ public buildings, roads, waters, channel of the *Tiber*, “ and for the distribution of corn to the people.” The same author, in the reign of JULIUS CÆSAR, tells us, “ Officers of this denomination were appointed by the emperor instead of prætors^x.” But in succeeding reigns, the *præfektus urbis* was a single magistrate^y, whose power, in the time of PLINY, was very extensive. He examined

^x SÜET. J. CÆSAR. Cap. LXXVI. *præfektosque pro prætoribus constituerit.*

^y TACITUS informs us, that during the civil wars, the government of *Rome* was given to MÆCENAS; afterwards to MESSALA CORVINUS, who proved insufficient to discharge the office; then to TAURUS STATILIUS; and after him, to PISO, who sustained the employment with great honour for twenty years together. TACIT. Annal. Lib. VI. cap. XI.

and heard all causes whatsoever, *intra centesimum lapidem*, "within an hundred miles of *Rome*;" he received all appeals from inferior courts; and preceded all other city magistrates. It was in the court belonging to this great officer, where *PLINY* was admitted, and where he heard *FUSCUS* and *QUADRATUS* plead. He seems to have been called in to the assistance of the *præfekt*, *adhibitus in consilium*, as a person to give him advice. There is at this day a præfekt or governor of modern *Rome*; his employment is of the same nature with that of the ancient *præfektus*: but his jurisdiction extends only forty miles round the city.

O diem lætum! notandumque mihi candidissimo calculo. *PLINY* the elder^c, in a short, but excellent dissertation upon human felicity, assures us, that it was a *Thracian* custom to mark their happy days with white, and their unhappy days with black stones; from whence it became a Roman proverb^d.

^c *PLIN.* Natur. Hist. lib. VII. cap. XL.

^d *HORACE* alludes to this proverb in the 36th ode of his first book, where he says

Cressâ ne careat pulchra dies notâ.

See the notes on this passage, in the translation of *HORACE* by Mr. FRANCIS.

E P I S T L E XII.

PLINY to *FABATUS*, his wife's grandfather.

INDEED you ought not to make the least scruple of recommending to me any person, whom you think worthy of your protection; for it becomes you to assist as many as you possibly can, and me, to obey your commands in any thing, in which you shall interest yourself. And therefore I shall do all the service in my power, to *VECTIUS PRISCUS*, especially in my own court among the *centumviri*.

You order me to forget your letters, which, you say, you wrote to me, in the utmost freedom of heart:

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heart: But those letters are such, as I would chuse to remember. For from them I chiefly learn, to what a degree you love me, when you treat me as your own son. And I own, they were the more grateful to me, because I was on the right side, since I had taken the utmost care of the particulars recommended to me by you.

Therefore I again, and again, entreat you, always without ceremony to reproach me, when I shall appear to become negligent: I say, appear^z, because I never shall be guilty of any neglect towards you. Such a reprimand I shall understand to proceed merely from your affection for me; and you will be glad to find, I do not deserve it. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

At the same time, that there is avowedly the utmost friendship in this letter, it still contains a certain air of respect, that shews PLINY looked upon his wife's relations with the same eye of duty and affection, as upon his own. And although FABATUS is not of the least consequence to the present age, and his name scarce ever mentioned, I believe, except in these epistles; yet there is a pleasure in reading PLINY's letters to him; as from them he appears to have been an amiable, sweet natured old man, equally loving, and beloved by his family.

^z *Videbor dico.* In some editions of PLINY these words are omitted: They are inserted in the edition of LONGOLIUS, and give a real beauty to the letter.

EPISTLE XIII.

PLINY to URSUS.

HAVE you ever seen a man, who has undergone more pains and vexation, than our friend VARENUS? He has been under a necessity to defend, and,

and, as it were, again to petition, for what he had obtained before with great difficulty. The *Bithynians* had the assurance to criticise, and endeavour to overthrow the decree of the senate, before the consuls; and even to complain of it to the emperor, although he was then absent from *Rome*. The emperor sent them back to the senate, and they still persisted in their attempt.

CLAUDIUS CAPITO pleaded for them with more indecency, than resolution; as he impeached before the senate their own decree. FRONTO CATIUS answered him with dignity and steadiness.

The behaviour of the senate, upon this occasion, was admirable. For even they, who had before denied VARENUS what he asked, were of opinion, that what had been granted, should still be allowed him. Because, if the affair proposed to the senate was new, every senator might use his own freedom and dissent; but when once the same thing was determined by the majority, it was becoming the senate to support that determination. ACILIUS RUFUS, seconded only by seven, or eight, nay but by seven, persisted in their former opinion. Among these few were some, whose temporary gravity, or rather appearance of gravity, was laughed at. But I leave you to consider, what great struggles, and how great opposition, still remain for us to undergo, in a dispute, the very beginning of which hath occasioned these contests. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This is a continuance of the cause between VARENUS and the *Bithynians*, mentioned in the fifth epistle of this book: And from hence it appears, that the *Bithynians* obstinately persevered in their vindictive disposition: they appealed from the decree of the senate to the judgement of the emperor; but TRAJAN referred them back again to the senate. As he was not present, when the cause was heard, he would not censure any senatorial decree; nor would he
 imagine,

imagine, that an assembly, which ought to be composed of wise and equitable judges, had given a partial, or a wrong determination.

The *Bithynians* still went on in their pursuit of VARENUS. Their advocate was CLAUDIUS CAPITO; he argued *irreverenter magis quam constanter*: "with more impudence than steadiness." He dared to find fault with the decree, even before the judges, who had pronounced it. Rehearings are frequently admitted in our courts of equity; but they are always introduced with great deference and respect to the court. When the proofs in a cause have not been sufficiently laid before the court, there is often a necessity for rehearing that cause; the judges, from not being fully apprised of every circumstance, may have been mistaken: but in that case, the lawyers, who petition for the rehearing, are only blamed; the justice of the court itself is never, in any degree, impeached. Our lesser courts of justice are more sacred, it seems, than the supreme judicature of old *Rome*.

Senatus iste mirificus: "That miraculous senate." This extraordinary praise, bestowed upon the senate, carries with it the appearance of a censure, as if it was amazingly strange, that any determination from that assembly should be equitable: Or, perhaps, PLINY refers to the corrupt state, in which the senate of *Rome* had formerly been immersed: And this conjecture is the more probable, as our author never omits an opportunity of shewing the happiness, and impartiality of TRAJAN's reign.

ACILIUS tantum RUFUS, et cum eo septem an octo, septem immo, in priore sententiâ perseverarunt: "The only person who persevered in his former opinion, was ACILIUS RUFUS, at the head of seven or eight more, nay only, of seven." This ACILIUS RUFUS had, in all probability, seven votes at command; certain followers, of no consequence in themselves, but whose actions and voices were directed by RUFUS.

From the conclusion of this epistle, we may see how very much an affected sanctity, *temporaria gravitas, vel potius gravitatis imitatio*, "a temporizing gravity, or rather the mimickry of such a character," was despised among the Romans. Hypocrisy will be ever detestable and ridiculous in all ages, and in all nations: And yet this mask of countenance has had dreadful effects in our own kingdoms;
the

the fanatics, having once overturned the government, by an immoveable gravity, and a length of face, that, like the Gorgon's head, destroyed all, who beheld it.

EPISTLE XIV.

PLINY to JUNIUS MAURICUS.

YOU invite me to *Formianum*. I will come, upon this condition only, that you shall do nothing contrary to your constant manner of living. In this agreement, my regard is mutual to us both. The sea and the shore are not the objects in my intended journey; I follow retirement, liberty, and you: otherwise *Rome* itself would be preferable. In all things there is a compliance necessary, either to ourselves, or to others: such is my natural inclination, that I would be totally and solely employed in whatever I undertake. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

This epistle is addressed to JUNIUS MAURICUS^a, who probably had retired, after his return from banishment, to a country house, near *Formiæ*; where, it is evident, he enjoyed one of the greatest blessings upon earth, *otium cum libertate*, "leisure and liberty."

The particular spot, where the villa of MAURICUS was situated, is not to be ascertained: we find, that the house commanded a prospect of the sea, and the adjoining shore: we may therefore presume to place it near *Formiæ*, a sea port of the *mare Tyrrhenum*, which PLINY the elder mentions thus: *Oppidum Formiæ, Hormiæ prius olim dictum: ut existimavere, antiquæ Læstrygonum sedes*: "The town of *Formia* (antiently called *Hormia*) according to the general opinion, was thought to have been the seat of the *Læstrygons*." The historian took his account of the *Læstrygons* from HOMER, as we are informed by his scholiast HARDU-

^a See the observations on Ep. 5. of the first book.

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INUS, whose words are, *Læstrygones re ipsâ in Siciliâ tantum fuere: sed ex Sicilia transtulit eos in Italiam* HOMERUS, in *tabulâ, quam contexebat de ULYSSIS erroribus*: "the Læstrygons in fact were only in Sicily: but HOMER, in the geographical description, which he was making of the voyages of ULYSSES, brought them from Sicily into Italy." Although in general, HOMER's description of his hero's voyages is poetical, yet, in this particular, his account may not be fabulous: a colony of *Læstrygons* might transplant themselves from Sicily into Italy, and might form a settlement upon this part of the *Mediterranean* shore; but whether the *Læstrygons*, or the *Lacedæmonians*, according to STRABO^b, built the city of *Formiæ*, it is certain, the territories of it, in the days of PLINY, were in every respect delicious, and fruitful. Their vines are recorded by HORACE^c, in his invitation to MÆCENAS; where he mentions the *Formiani colles*, as productive of a choice wine, which his œconomy, and station, could not afford.

^b Lib. 5.

^c Lib. 1. Ode 20.

EPISTLE XV.

PLINY to VOCONIUS ROMANUS^d.

YOU were not present, at a most extraordinary occurrence; nor was I, but the story reached me just after it happened. PASSIENUS PAULUS, a Roman Knight of an illustrious family, and a person of great learning, composes elegies. It is an hereditary accomplishment; for he is the countryman of PROPERTIUS, whom he always reckons among his ancestors. In the rehearsal of his verses, he thus began, O PRISCUS, *do you command?* Upon this JABOLENUS PRISCUS, (for he was present, as he is the particular friend of PAULUS) cried out, *Indeed I do not command.* Imagine, what laughter, what jests ensued. PRISCUS is a good deal disordered in his sen-

^d In the edition of LONGOLIUS, this epistle, as the former, is addressed to MAURICIUS, but in most other editions, to ROMANUS.
fes:

ses: however he enjoys public offices, is admitted into council, and even pleads in public; which rendered this action more ridiculous and remarkable. In the mean time, the madness of another has damped PAULUS.

In rehearsals, great care should be taken, that not only the persons, who rehearse, but their audience also, should enjoy a perfect sanity of mind. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

An unlucky jest, thrown out by a madman, is scarce ever to be recovered; nor is it safe, in public speeches of any kind, to ask questions: they often draw on very bitter replies. Thus the preacher, who, in the vehemence of a tedious sermon, cried out; where shall I place my saint? was answered loudly by one of his audience, *Here, I entreat you; I will go away, and leave room for him.*

PASSIENUS PAULUS seems to have made his ancestor PROPERTIUS the pattern of his poetical writings; and to have rehearsed his elegies publicly, in imitation of that poet: at whose rehearsals OVID was often present;

*Sæpe suos solitus recitare PROPERTIUS ignes,
Jure sodalitii, qui mihi junctus erat*.*

“ To me PROPERTIUS would his loves recite,
“ For social friendship did our hearts unite.

We shall find the character of PASSIENUS PAULUS repeated, and more fully discussed hereafter. His works must have been a great loss to posterity. In this epistle he is compared to his kinsman PROPERTIUS, and in the ninth book, PLINY says, “ If similitude of genius is a proof of “ affinity, PAULUS must appear very nearly related to HO- “ RACE.” This letter ought to have been immediately succeeded, by the twenty second epistle of the ninth book.

* Ovid de tristibus, lib. 4. eleg. 10.

EPISTLE XVI.

PLINY to CORNELIUS TACITUS.

YOU are desirous, that I should give you an account of the death of my uncle; that you may be enabled to transmit it to posterity with the greater truth. I return you thanks. I foresee, that his death, when celebrated by you, must procure eternal honour to his name; for although his fall was attended by the destruction of most beautiful territories, seeming, as it were, destined to be remembered equally with those nations and cities, who perish by some memorable event; although he had compiled works both numerous, and lasting; yet the immortality of your writings will lengthen out the character, which he has established to himself. I consider it as a blessing, to be possessed of endowments, which either qualify us for actions worthy of public record, or inspire us to write any thing worthy of public attention. But I think those persons peculiarly favoured from heaven, who obtain both these qualifications. My uncle, by his own works, and by yours, may be numbered among these last. For which reason, I more readily undertake, and even wish for the employment, that you enjoin.

He was at *Misenum*, where he had the command of a fleet, which was stationed there. On the ninth of the calends of September^f, about the seventh hour^g, my mother informed him, that a cloud appeared of unusual size and shape. After having reposed himself in the sun, and used the cold bath, he had tasted a slight repast, and was returned to his studies; he immediately called for his sandals, and

^f On the 23d of August.^g One o'clock.

repaired to an higher point of view, from whence he might more plainly discern this prodigy. The cloud, (the spectators could not distinguish at a distance from what mountain it arose, but it was afterwards found to be *Vesuvius*) advanced in height, nor can I give you a more just representation of it, than the form of a pine tree; for, springing up in a direct line, like a tall trunk, the branches were widely distended. I believe, while the vapour was fresh, it more easily ascended; but when that vapour was wasted, the cloud became loose; or, perhaps, oppressed by its own gravity, dilated itself into a greater breadth. It sometimes appeared bright, and sometimes black, or spotted, according to the quantities of earth and ashes mixed with it. This was a surprising circumstance, and it deserved, in the opinion of that learned man, to be enquired into more exactly. He commanded a *Liburnian*^h galley to be prepared for him, and made me an offer of accompanying him, if I pleased. I replied, it was more agreeable to me to pursue my studies; and, as it happened, he had allotted me something, at that time, to write. He went out of the house, with his tablets in his hand. The mariners at *Relina* being under consternation at the approaching danger (for that village was situated under the mountain, nor were there any means of escaping, but by sea,) entreated him not to venture upon so hazardous an enterprize. He continued firm to his resolutionⁱ, and performed, with great fortitude

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tude

^h *Jubet Liburnicam aptari.* The word *Liburna*, or *Liburnica*, in general signifies a light vessel; but as the *Illyrian* form of ships was adopted into the Roman service, from the battle of *Actium*, for the important use they were of in that engagement; and, as *HORACE* has laid such particular stress upon them in Ode 37, book 1, and again, in his 1st Epode, I have chosen to distinguish them by the name of their country.

ⁱ In the edition of *PLINY's* epistles by *LONGOLIUS*, this sentence stands thus. *Vertit ille consilium.* It is the same in the *testimonia*

tude of mind, what he had at first undertaken from a thirst of knowledge.

He commanded the galleys to put off from land, and embarked with a design not only to relieve the people of *Retina*, but many others in distress, as the shore was interspersed with a variety of pleasant villages. He sailed immediately to places, which were abandoned by other people, and boldly held his course in the face of danger, so composed, as to remark distinctly the appearance and progress of this dreadful calamity, and to digest, and dictate those remarks.

He now found, that the ashes beat into the ships much hotter, and in greater quantities; and as he drew nearer, pumice stones, with black flints, burnt, and torn up by the flames, broke in upon them: and now, the hasty ebb of the sea, and ruins tumbling from the mountain, hindered their nearer approach to the shore. Pausing a little upon this, whether he should not return back, and instigated to it by the pilot, he cries out, *Fortune assists the brave: let us make the best of our way to POMPONIANUS*, who was then at *Stabia*, and lay opposite to a bay, into which the sea, creeping gently along that winding coast, insinuates itself. POMPONIANUS, although not in immediate peril, yet seeing it plainly, and finding it approaching fast, was putting his baggage on board some vessels, with a design, of making his escape by sea, whenever the contrary wind should abate. My uncle arriving with a fair wind at this place, embraced, comforted, and encouraged his trembling friend: and to effect this, seemed himself to be under no kind of apprehension; but ordering his servants to carry him to the bath, when he had bathed, went

Simonia selecta de PLINIO, before the folio edition of PLINY the elder by HARDUINUS. The *Variorum* edition, and MATTAIRE, exhibit it, *non vertit ille consilium*, to which sense I have adhered.

to supper, either with a real chearfulness, or, what is equally the sign of a great mind, the appearance of it.

In the mean time flames issued from various parts of mount *Vesuvius*, and spreading wide, and towering to a great height, made a vast blaze, the glare and horror of which were still encreased by the gloominess of the night.

My uncle, to move the general fear, said, that the blaze was occasioned by the villages being on fire, which were now deserted by the country people. Then retiring to take his rest, he enjoyed a sound sleep; for being of a gross and corpulent habit of body, he was heard to snore, by those who waited upon him. The court, beyond which was his apartment, by this time was so filled with cinders, and pumice stones, that had he continued any longer in his room, his passage from it would have been stopped up. Being awakened therefore, he quitted his chamber, and returned to POMPONIANUS, and the rest, whose fears had hindered them from sleeping, and who had been upon the watch. They consulted together, whether it would be more adviseable to keep under the shelter of that roof, or retire into the fields; for the house tottered to and fro, as if it had been shaken from the foundation by the frequent earthquakes. On the other hand they dreaded the stones, which, by being burnt into cinders, although they fell with no great weight, yet fell in large quantities. But after considering the different hazards, which they run, the advice of going out prevailed: in others, one kind of fear conquered another; in my uncle, one prudential reason only succeeded to another.

They covered their heads with pillows bound with napkins; this was their only defence against the shower of stones. And now, when it was day every where else, they were surrounded with darkness,

black and more dismal than night, which however was sometimes dispersed by several flashes, and eruptions from the mountain. They agreed to go farther in upon the shore, and to look out from the neighbouring land, if they might venture to sea; but the sea continued raging and tempestuous. Then my uncle laying himself down upon a cloth spread on the ground called twice for some water and drank it; but the flames, and a stench of sulphur, which preceded them, obliged others to immediate flight, and roused him. He raised himself upon his feet, supported by two servants, but his respiration being stopt, he immediately dropt down; stifled, as I imagine, by the sulphur, and grossness of the air. His lungs, as he was narrow chested, were naturally weak, and subject to inflammations. When the light returned, which was not till the third day after his death, his body was discovered, untouched by the fire, without any visible hurt, in the dress in which he fell; appearing rather like a person sleeping, than like one who was dead.

My mother and I still continued at *Misenum*. But, this has no relation to the history, nor did you desire any particulars, except those of my uncle's death. I shall therefore finish my letter; adding only, that I have sent you all the circumstances, which I either saw myself, or were communicated to me, at a time when the truth of every single incident could be easily recollected. From hence you will select such passages as you shall think proper: for it is one thing to write a letter, another to compile an history; nor is the difference less between writing to a friend in particular, than to the world in general. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS,

There are some few obscure passages in this epistle, which embarrass the translation, and interrupt the thread of a very curious narrative.

Ille agrestium trepidatione, ignes relictos, desertasque villas per solitudinem ardere, in remedium formidinis, dictitabat.

The meaning of this confused sentence is, that the fears of POMPONIANUS, and of his companions, beginning to augment, as they observed the flames encreasing and spreading themselves wider, PLINY, to calm those apprehensions, declared it as his opinion, that the fire from the mountain was not encreased, nor did it spread itself wider now, than before: but that the country people having, in their terror, deserted their habitations, some of the houses had taken fire, and had communicated their flames to other houses adjoining; and, as no inhabitants were resident to stop the progress of the conflagration, all the houses upon the shore, which were contiguous to each other, must inevitably be in flames.

Quod tamen periculorum collatio elegit: et apud illum quidem ratio rationem, apud alios timorem timor vicit. Here is a jingle of words, *ratio rationem, timorem timor*, that by no means expresses the calmness and consideration, with which PLINY acted, amidst the scene of horror from *Vesuvius*, and the great alarms of those few friends, who surrounded him, and whose fears drove them backwards, or forwards, with the utmost precipitation. Where a plain narrative is to be pursued, simplicity and natural reflexions not only explain, but in reality embellish the story; and his nephew might have said unaffectedly, “that the part, which others “acted from the distraction of fear, was pursued by his “uncle, from the strength of reason, and from mature de- “liberation.” In instances of this sort, our author sometimes lays himself too open to censure; yet the criticisms can be levelled only against his style, which, if divested of certain little turns, the fashion of that age, would appear to us more nervous and important.

The writings of PLINY the elder have been specified in the fifth epistle of the third book. The particulars of his life, as a statesman, or a soldier, (for he acted in both these capacities,) are not so illustrious, as to leave any remarkable records of his military or political actions. The confidence reposed in him by VESPASIAN, and TITUS, is much to his honour. He was employed in the councils of VESPASIAN: *ante lucem ibat ad VESPASIANUM imperatorem**: “He went to the emperor VESPASIAN before day-

* Lib. 3. Ep. 5.

“break.”

"break." And by TITUS was appointed admiral of the Roman fleet at *Misenum*.

The generality of writers fix his birth at *Verona*; but HARDUINUS, the best, and latest editor of his works, says, he was born at *Rome*. The time of his birth was the tenth year of TIBERIUS, and of *Rome* the seven hundred and seventy fifth, in the consulship of L. ASINIUS POLLIO, and C. ANTISTHIUS VERUS.

Fuit illi, says HARDUINUS, *prænomen CAIUS, nomen PLINIUS, cognomen SECUNDUS*: PLINIUS, *ex patre*; SECUNDUS, *ex matre*; *quamobrem POMPONIUS SECUNDUS vates affinis ei fuit, natus similiter ex POMPONIO patre, et matre SECUNDA, PLINII SECUNDI matertera*¹: "CAIUS" was his first name, his second name was PLINY, and his last, or surname, was SECUNDUS. He was called PLINY from his father; SECUNDUS from his mother; wherefore POMPONIUS SECUNDUS was his near relation, being the son of POMPONIUS and SECUNDA, the aunt of PLINIUS SECUNDUS."

Nothing of notoriety occurs in the life of PLINY the elder, till this account of his catastrophe, which happened in the first year of TITUS, in the year of *Rome* eight hundred and thirty one, when he had not fully completed fifty seven years of age.

Nonum calend. Septembris, horâ fere septimâ, mater mea indicat ei apparere nubem inusitata et magnitudine et specie: "Upon the twenty third of *August*, about one o'clock in the afternoon, his sister, the mother of the younger PLINY, interrupted her brother in his studies, by shewing to him a cloud of uncommon size, and appearance." It is a matter of doubt, whether the eruption of *Vesuvius* at this time was the first, that had ever happened. But in all probability, so extraordinary a phenomenon would have been taken great notice of, if it had ever appeared before, and especially by PLINY the elder, who mentions *Ætna* in a

¹In the catalogue, given to us by PLINY the younger, of his uncle's writings, he says, *De vita POMPONII SECUNDI duo [libri], a quo singulariter amatus, hoc memoriæ amici debitum munus absolvit*, Lib. 3. Ep. 5. And we find by HARDUINUS, that POMPONIUS was his cousin-german, his aunt's son; the mother of the natural historian was sister to the mother of POMPONIUS. The name of each of the two sisters was SECUNDA,

very particular mannerⁿ, and who could only have been prevented by death from giving a much more exact account of *Vesuvius*.

Jam navibus cinis inciderat, quo propius accederent, calidior et densior; jam pumices etiam, nigrique, et ambusti, et fracti igne lapides: “The ashes now began to alight on the decks, “and were hotter and thicker, as the ships approached. “Now pumice and other stones, shattered to pieces by the “vehemence of the flames, flew about: they were quite “black and burnt to a coal.” In the year one thousand seven hundred and seventeen, Doctor BERKLEY^o, the present bishop of *Cloyne* in *Ireland*, visited *Vesuvius*, at least with as much boldness and curiosity as PLINY the elder. The account given by the bishop of that mountain was communicated to the royal society by Doctor ARBUTHNOT, and is published in the Philosophical Transactions. It agrees, in many particulars, with this description: but I am inclined to believe, that the pumice stones^p, here mentioned, were a kind of glutinous matter, which is thus described by the bishop. “The other mouth was lower in the “side of the same new formed hill: I could discern it to be “filled with red hot liquid matter, like that in the furnace “of a glass-house, which raged and wrought as the waves “of the sea, causing a short abrupt noise, like what may “be imagined to proceed from a sea of quicksilver, dashing among uneven rocks. This stuff would sometimes spew over, and run down the convex side of the “conical hill, and appeared at first red hot; it changed “colour, and hardened as it cooled, shewing the first rudiments of an eruption, or, if I may so say, an eruption in miniature.”

Fortes fortuna juvat: POMPONIANUM pete: “Fortune “assists the brave: Let us sail to POMPONIANUS.” This

ⁿ *Ætna nocturnis mirus incendiis. Crater ejus patet ambitu Stad. XX. Favilla Tauromenium et Catinam usque pervenit; fervens fragor vero ad Maronem et Gemellos colles. PLINII Nat. Hist. Lib. 3. cap. 8.*

^o To BERKLEY every virtue under heaven. POPE.

^p Naturalists are not agreed as to the origin of the pumice stones. Some imagine them to be pieces of rock, cast up from *Volcanos*: others say, they are frequently found in parts of the sea far remote from all *Volcanos*. The nature of them is spungy, and porous.

allu-

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allusion to VIRGIL, whose words are, *audentes fortuna juvat**, shews great intrepidity and presence of mind; and is certainly not inferior to the famous saying recorded of JULIUS CÆSAR, who finding his pilot intimidated by the roughness of the waves, and the resistance of the tide, encouraged him in words to this purpose; "Fear nothing, friend, go on, you carry CÆSAR and his fortune;" alluding to the constant good luck, which had attended him. CÆSAR was led forward by ambition; PLINY, by a thirst of knowledge. Each had his ruling passion; a passion, which, in the one, was destructive, but, in the other, beneficial to mankind.

Innitens servulis duobus assurrexit, et statim concidit, ut ego colligo, crassiore caligine spiritu obstrueto, clausoque stomacho, qui illi natura invalidus, et frequenter interastuans erat: "He raised himself, and leaning, for a moment, upon two of his servants, immediately sunk down again, suffocated, as I imagine." In this manner died PLINY the elder, whose constitution, we find, was far from being robust; occasioned probably by the intenseness of his studies. "He had naturally, continues his nephew, tender lungs, was narrow chested, and often liable to inflammations in his breast." Such complaints must render him less able to resist the sulphureous vapours from *Vesuvius*, where the bishop of *Cloyne* tells us, his own safety was owing, in a great measure, to the favourable disposition of the wind. His words are, "Had the wind driven in our face, we had been in no small danger of stifling by the sulphureous smoke, or being knocked on the head by lumps of molten minerals, which we saw had sometimes fallen on the brink of the *Crater*, upon those shot from the gulph at the bottom: but, as the wind was favourable, I had an opportunity to survey this odd scene for above an hour and a half together; during which, it was very observable, that all the volleys of smoke, flame, and burning stones came only out of the hole to our left, while the liquid stuff in the other mouth wrought and overflowed, as has been already described."

After so very particular an account, as we have seen of PLINY's last moments, it is scarce worth while to mention a circumstance, which may be found in a life of him, sup-

* The line is an hemistich in VIRGIL. *Æneid* 10 v. 284.

posed to have been written by SÜETONIUS. The biographer says, *periit clade Campaniæ*, and then proceeds to tell us, *vi pulveris ac favillæ oppressus est; vel, ut quidam existimant, a servo suo occisus, quem deficiens æstu, ut necem sibi maturaret, oraverit*: “ He was overwhelmed by the
 “ dust and ashes; or, as some imagine, was killed by his
 “ own servant, whom he entreated to kill him with the
 “ utmost dispatch, because he found himself fainting under
 “ the excess of heat.” SÜETONIUS, who was the intimate friend of PLINY, and to whom we have seen many of PLINY’s letters addressed, was incapable of writing such a falsehood; but to shew at once, that SÜETONIUS was not the author of so erroneous a scrap of history, the life itself begins with an egregious error, PLINIUS SECUNDUS *Novocomensis*, absolutely mistaking the nephew for the uncle; about whose birth, the only contest can be, whether he was a native of *Verona*, or of *Rome*? His death, and the manner of it, is fully ascertained in this epistle; and his life may be said to be one continued scene of study: so that when we consider his constitution of body, his speculative turn of mind, not to mention his too great credulity in believing all men as sincere and as ingenuous as himself, it is impossible not to liken him, in his philosophical character, to a gentleman, who must ever be an honour to his own family, and nation, Mr. ROBERT BOYLE.

EPISTLE XVII.

PLINY to RESTITUTUS.

I AM not able to keep within bounds the indignation I conceived, while I attended a friend of mine, at his rehearsal. I shall give vent therefore to my anger, in this letter, since you and I cannot have an opportunity of meeting.

The piece rehearsed was a very perfect performance. But two or three of the audience, who, to themselves only, and their few friends, appeared to be men of great discernment, sat like persons deaf, and dumb. They did not open their lips, they did not move a hand, they did not even rise from their
 seats,

seats, weared as they must have been by sitting. Whence all this gravity? Whence all this wisdom? What laziness, what arrogance, what dissingenuity, or rather what madness, to employ a whole day merely to give offence; and to leave that man your enemy, whom you visited as a friend? Is it, that you are wiser? If so, there can be no room for envy. He, who envies another, must be his inferior. But indeed, whether your abilities are greater, or less, or supposing them parallel, still you ought to extol your inferior, your superior, or your equal. Because, unless your superior meets with applause, you cannot reach it; and the higher your inferior, or your equal shall appear, you, who excel, or equal him, must of consequence attain the greater degree of glory. For my own part, I have accustomed myself to admire, and hold all those in veneration, who make a progress in the art of eloquence; which is a science difficult, laborious, and I may add disdainful, because she constantly despises those, by whom she is despised. But perhaps your opinion differs from mine: yet where shall I find a man, who exceeds you in the reverence you bear, and the benevolent disposition you shew to this kind of study? For which reason, I have been induced to lay open my indignation to you in the strongest manner, that I may gain you an associate to my own sentiments. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

This is the only letter extant from PLINY to RESTITUTUS, of whose character or station no particulars can possibly be gathered. The epistle begins with a sentence extremely difficult to be rendered into close English, occasioned, not only by the conciseness of the Latin, but the subject, of which it treats: *Indignatiunculam, quam in cujusdam amici auditorio cepi, non possum mihi temperare, quo minus apud te, quia non contingit coram, per epistolam effundam*: "I cannot find sufficient patience in me, to abstain from pouring out the resentment, which I felt, when I attended
" ed

“ ed the rehearſal of one of my friends: let me therefore
 “ vent my anger in this letter, becauſe we cannot enter into
 “ a perſonal converſation.” Our author is never leſs enter-
 taining, than when he gives an account of his attendance to
 theſe rehearſals. I am ſuſpicious, that the many epiſtles
 upon this ſingle topic are by no means advantageous to his
 epiſtolary character, either in point of elegance, or import-
 ance; and indeed, the reader muſt be moſt truly devoted to
 PLINY, who can reliſh perpetual repetitions of a cuſtom en-
 tirely uſeleſs to the preſent age. Yet, in this appeal to RE-
 STITUTUS, may be diſcerned many excellent and judicious
 remarks joined to the moſt benevolent diſpoſition poſſible
 towards the ſcientific arts.

E P I S T L E XVIII.

PLINY to SABINUS.

YOU deſire me to undertake the public cauſe of
 the *Firmani*. Although I have at preſent much
 buſineſs upon my hands, I ſhall apply myſelf entirely
 to it. Becauſe as a lawyer, I am deſirous to ſerve
 that moſt illuſtrious colony, and, at the ſame time, to
 oblige you, by acting the part, which may be moſt
 agreeable to you.

Since you have been ſo good to look upon my inti-
 macy, as you have often declared, as an advantage, and
 an honour, there is nothing, which I can reſuſe you;
 eſpecially, as your preſent requeſt is in favour of your
 country. For what can be more engaging, than the
 entreaties of a man of virtue; or more efficacious,
 than the deſires of a friend?

Therefore, plight my faith to your friends, or now
 rather to my friends, the *Firmani*, who if their own
 bright character did not render them worthy of my
 utmoſt ſkill and affiduity, muſt ſtill be eſteemed by
 me, as the beſt ſet of people in the world, ſince a
 man, like you, makes his reſidence amongſt them.
 Adieu.

O B S E R-

OBSERVATIONS.

In the tenth epistle of the fourth book, we find, that SABINUS had been left joint heir with PLINY, to a lady, whose name was SABINA. This incident probably created the intimacy between our author and SABINUS. There are many persons of that name; but, I apprehend the friend of PLINY to be CÆSIUS SABINUS, whom MARTIAL^r, in a very elegant epigram, calls, *montanæ decus Umbrae*: “The joy of Umbria, and her mountain’s pride.” And if the compliments of the epigrammatist are true, he was endued with great accomplishments, and was a particular judge, and patron of poetry. Such a man must be highly worthy of PLINY’s friendship, which, we find, he looked upon as an advantage, and an honour.

Firmanorum publicam causam: “The public cause of the *Firmani*.” The *Firmani* were the people of *Firmium*, in the region of *Picenum*, now *Ancona*. The city is called *Fermo*. It is an archbishoprick belonging to the ecclesiastical state.

Ornatissimam coloniam: “A noble colony.” There is a reason perhaps, why PLINY speaks of this colony in the highest terms. The *Firmani* are praised by TULLY^f, to whom our author’s devotion is so entire, and implicit, that we may conclude the praises of CICERO were a sufficient cause to render the *Firmani* ever splendid, and distinguished in the judgement of PLINY: and therefore he must have had particular pleasure in being employed to defend a people, whose predecessors had been honourably mentioned by CICERO.

^r Lib. 7. epigram. 96.

^f See the 7th Philippic.

EPISTLE XIX.

PLINY to NEPOS.

HAVE you heard, that the price of lands has of late been very much enhanced, especially near *Rome*? The reason of this sudden dearness, an affair, which has admitted of much debate, proceeded from
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an order of the senate upon the last election of magistrates, which was expressed in these words, much to their honour : “ *Let the candidates give no entertainments ; let them make no presents ; let them deposit no sums of money.*” The two first of these methods had been practised openly, and without any degree of moderation : the latter, with more secrecy, but still as an acknowledged custom.

Our friend HOMULUS, laying hold of this decree of the senate, instead of giving his opinion upon it, moved, that the consuls might petition the emperor, and acquaint him, as the universal desire, that since he had reformed all other abuses, he would be pleased, from the same provident care of the state, to put a stop to this enormity. The emperor approved of the petition ; for, by the law against bribery, in canvassing at elections, he immediately restrained those pernicious and infamous expences of the candidates ; and he ordered, that no person, who had not a third part of his fortune in land, should presume to set himself up as a candidate ; thinking it shameful (as indeed it was) that those, who were aspiring to honours, should look upon *Rome* and *Italy*, not as their country, but as an inn, or a resting place, which lay in their way as travellers.

The candidates therefore are now running about, and striving to buy whatever they hear is saleable ; and by these means will occasion many more lands to be sold. If then you are tired of your estate in *Italy*, this is your time to sell it ; or indeed, to purchase one in the provinces. For these canvassers are obliged to sell there, in order to purchase here. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

In this account to NEPOS, of the rise of lands, we must applaud the conduct of TRAJAN, of the senate, and of one particular senator, whom PLINY calls, HOMULUS *noſter*,

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“ our

"our friend HOMULUS." The epistle not only shews to what a height of corruption the Roman people were arrived, but in what manner, and by what stratagems the laws against *bribery in elections* were evaded. Those laws were very numerous: they were revived, amended and repeated from time to time; and were originally in themselves sufficient, if they had been put into full force, and vigorously, and righteously executed. They were distinguished by the names of the consuls, or tribunes, in whose magistracy, or by whose authority, they were enacted: and MANUTIUS, in speaking of the various additions and alterations made to them, tells us the reason, *quæ non ideo alia post aliam latæ sunt, ut priorem legem posterior abrogaret; sed, vel ut corrigitur aliquid, vel, ut novum jus, utile civitati, adscisceretur; vel ut, moribus ad deteriora quotidie magis inclinantibus, pœna gravior irrogaretur*; "These laws were not published one after the other, that the last might invalidate the other; but that, either something might thereby be corrected; or that something new, and of advantage to the city might be inserted; or that an heavier penalty might be exacted, as the morals of the people were every day growing worse and worse."

Candidati ne conviventur: "That the candidates should make no feasts." By the *lex ACILIA CALPURNIA*, which was enacted during the consulship of M. ACILIUS GLABRIO, and C. CALPURNIUS PISO, those persons, who were convicted of sinister means in canvassing, were to be fined, and rendered incapable of bearing office, or of being elected into the senate. To elude this prohibition, and to use effectual, although not illicit means, to attain their ends, the candidates made great entertainments for their electors. They feasted them into their interest: yet who can call an entertainment a bribe? In law, perhaps it cannot be deemed as such; but in effect, it is the most prevalent bribe possible; for the lower classes of people are more influenced by the drink, and mirth appendant to public feasts, than by money itself.

Ne mittant munera. Although the plain construction of this sentence is a prohibition against making presents, yet it may be construed, "Let not the candidates entertain their electors with shews." The *munerarii*^a, were the per-

^a *Thracem mirmilloni parem, munerario imparem.* Sueton. DOMITIANUS, cap. 10.

sons, who, at their own expence, exhibited to the populace various kinds of entertainments: the Latin word *munus* signifies a shew of gladiators, of wild beasts, or of any of those kind of diversions, in which the Roman people took particular delight. Thus JUVENAL,

*Munera nunc edunt, et verso pollice vulgi
Quemlibet occidunt populariter*^b.

“ Now they give shews, and popularly slay,
“ And fool the people’s lives and sense away.”

And again, we meet with it in SÜETONIUS, *Bestias quoque ad munus populi comparatas contrucidaverat*^c: “ He had also killed beasts, that had been provided for the diversion of the people.”

Ne pecunias deponant. It appears by this prohibition, that one of the methods of evading the laws against bribery was a deposit, and security of a certain sum of money, to be paid to the electors, after they had given their votes according to their bargain. It is a melancholy truth, that the utmost abilities of honesty are inferior to the more subtil powers of vice. Corruption is of as penetrable a nature as lightning; it pervades every pore of government, and darts through the strongest fortifications of virtue: nor can human wisdom devise laws, which human cunning shall not be able to elude. Among all the *leges de ambitu*, I cannot recollect any provision against this particular subterfuge: so that it seems to have been an artifice invented, and put in execution, since the reign of AUGUSTUS, who, SÜETONIUS^d says, *comitiorum pristinum jus reduxit, multiplici pœnâ coercito ambitu*: “ He reestablished the original institution of elections, the laws against bribery being restrained.” PLINY here speaking of these inhibitions to candidates, says, “ They were occasioned by the open, and avowed practice of treats, and presents, and by the no less frequent, but more clandestine methods of pecuniary deposits.” In such a state of depravity was the Roman government, at the beginning of TRAJAN’s reign,

^b JUVENAL Sat. 3. v. 36.

^c SÜETON. JUL. CÆSAR. cap. 75.

^d SÜETON. AUG. CÆSAR. cap. 40.

EPISTLE XX.

PLINY to CORNELIUS TACITUS.

YOU tell me, that my former letter, which, at your own desire, I wrote to you concerning my uncle's death, has tempted you to enquire, not only into the terrors, but the distress I suffered, while I was left at *Misenum*: for, with that particular, my letter concluded.

I will restrain my tears, and briefly tell^c.

When my uncle was gone from us, I employed my time (having staid behind for that purpose) at my studies. I bathed; went to supper; and had a very imperfect and restless sleep. We had for several preceding days together felt an earthquake, which being common in *Campania* did not much alarm us; but the shocks were so violent this particular night, that all things around us were not only moved, but seemed upon the brink of destruction. My mother hastened into my bed-chamber, at the moment of time when I was rising, with an intention to awaken her, if I had found her sleeping. We retired into a little court, which lay between the house, and the sea. I am in doubt, whether my conduct ought to be called fortitude, or thoughtlessness upon this occasion; for I was then but eighteen years of age. I called for a *Livy*, and read it, as if I had been quite at ease; and in the manner I had begun, went so far as to select passages from that author. A friend of my uncle's who was lately come from *Spain*, on purpose to see him, finding my mother and me sitting thus together, and taking notice, that I was reading, reproved the patience of her temper, and the indifference of

^c DRYDEN *Æneid.* 2. v. 15.

mine. However, I still continued intent upon my book. It was now six o'clock in the morning; yet there was but a faint and glimmering light. The house shook violently; and though we were in an open court; yet, as it was very narrow, and built almost all round, we were certainly in great danger. We then thought it expedient to leave the town; the people distracted with fears followed us, and (such is the nature of fear, which embraces, as most prudential, any other dictate in preference to its own,) they pressed upon us, and drove us forward. When we were out of reach of the buildings, we stopped: our astonishment was great, nor were our apprehensions less; for the carriages which we had ordered out of the town, were so violently shaken from side to side, although upon plain ground, that they could not be kept in their places, even when propped by heavy stones. The sea too seemed to be forced back upon itself; repelled, as it were, by the strong concussions of the earth. It is certain, that the shore was greatly widened, and many sea animals were left upon the strand.

On the land side, a dark and horrible cloud, charged with combustible matter, suddenly broke, and shot forth a long trail of fire, in the nature of lightning, but in larger flashes. Then my uncle's friend, the same who came out of *Spain*, said to us, with great vehemence and eagerness, "If your brother, and
" your uncle, be still living, his wishes are employed
" for your safety: If he has lost his life, he was de-
" sirous yours might be saved. Why then will you
" not immediately leave this place?" We answered, that we were not so solicitous for our own, as for my uncle's preservation. He then hastily withdrew, running with the utmost expedition from danger. Not long after, the cloud descending covered the whole bay; and we could no longer see the island of *Caprea*, or the promontory of *Misenum*. My mother

now began to beseech, advise, and command me to make my escape in any manner I could. She observed, that as I was young, I might easily take my flight; but that she, who was in years, and less active, could patiently resign herself to death, in case she was not the occasion of my destruction. My answer was, "I will never attempt at safety, if we are not together." And then leading her by the hand, I assisted her to go faster: she yielded with regret, still angry at herself for delaying me.

The ashes now fell upon us; however, in no great quantities. I looked back. A thick dark vapour, just behind us, rolled along the ground like a torrent, and followed us. I then said, "Let us turn out of this road, whilst we can see our way, lest the people, who crowd after us, trample us to death." We had scarce considered what was to be done, when we were surrounded with darkness, not like the darkness of a cloudy night, or when the moon disappears, but such as is in a close room, when all light is excluded. You might then have heard the shrieks of women, the moans of infants, and the outcries of men; some were calling for their parents, some for their children, some for their wives: their voices only made them known to each other. Some bewailed their own fate; others the fate of their relations. There were some, who even from a fear of death, prayed to die. Many paid their adorations to the Gods; but the greater number were of opinion, that the Gods no longer existed, and that this night was the final and eternal period of the world. There were others, who magnified the real dangers, by imaginary and false terrors. Some affirmed, that *Misenum* was burnt to the ground: the report, although not true, gained credit.

A little gleam of light now appeared. It was not day-light, but a forewarning of the approach of some fiery vapour: which, however, discharged itself at a distance

distance from us. Darkness immediately succeeded. Then ashes poured down upon us in large quantities, and heavy, which obliged us frequently to rise and brush them off, otherwise we had been smothered, or pressed to death by their weight.

I might boast, that not one sigh, or timorous word broke from me through all this distress, had I not fortified myself with one great consolation, a miserable one indeed, that all nature was perishing with me.

At last this darkness, which now was drawn into the thinness of a cloud, or of smoke, went off; true day appeared. The sun shone forth, but pale, as at the time of an eclipse. All objects, that offered themselves to our sight (which was yet so weak, that we could scarce bear the return of light) were changed, and covered with ashes as thick a snow. At our return to *Misenum*, after having refreshed ourselves, we remained in that suspense, and doubt of mind, which hope and fear inspire: fear indeed was most prevalent. For, the earthquake still continued, and several enthusiasts, by dreadful prophecies, encreased their own fears, and the fears of others. But, although we had undergone many dangers, and dreaded still more; yet we could not be persuaded to quit the town, till we had received some intelligence concerning my uncle.

You will read this account without any intention of making it a part of your history; of which it is by no means worthy: and you must blame yourself, for requiring it from me, if you think it not worthy of a letter. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This epistle is very injudiciously separated from the former account of *Vesuvius*^a: it is a continuation of that narrative,

^a Epistle 16.

PLINY'S EPISTLES.

and the scene here lies entirely at *Misenum*, where the younger PLINY remained, at his own choice, in pursuit of his studies. His behaviour clears him so effectually from any imputation of fear, that the reason why he did not attend his uncle, upon so extraordinary an occasion, must have been entirely owing, either to a want of curiosity, or an inseparable attachment to study.

We find the name of the mountain *Vesuvius* varied by the ancient poets. SILIUS ITALICUS, contemporary of PLINY, calls it *Vesbius* :

*Ætnæos quoque contorquens e cautibus ignes
Vesbius intenuit, scopulisque in nubila jactis
Phlegæus tetigit trepidantia sidera vertex^b.*

“ *Vesbius* with more than *Ætna*'s fire has roar'd,
“ *Vesbius* with flames, and hidden mischief stor'd,
“ And molten rocks, with vengeful fury driv'n,
“ From the high cliffs have touch'd th' affrighted Heav'n.”

MARTIAL, another of PLINY'S contemporaries, calls it *Vesvius* :

Hic est pampineis viridis modo Vesvius umbris^c.

“ *Vesvius* here is seen
“ Crown'd with the curling vines umbrageous green.”

LUCRETIIUS calls it *Vesevus* :

Qualis apud Cumas locus est, montemque Vesevum^d.

“ Such is the spot
“ Near *Cuma*, and *Vesevus*' mount.

And VIRGIL makes use of the same expression ;

*Talem dives arat Capua, et vicina Vesuvo
Ora jugo^e.*

“ Such is the foil of fat *Campanian* fields,
Such large encrease the land that joins *Vesevus* yields.”

DRYDEN.

By

^b SILII ITALICI, Lib. 8. v. 655. ^c MARTIALIS, Lib. 4. Epigram. 44. ^d LUCRETII, Lib. 6. v. 744. ^e Georgic. Lib. 2. v. 224. This is a passage, which AULUS GELLIUS tells us originally stood thus,

Talem

By all the historians, SUETONIUS excepted, who calls it *Vesuvus*, the mountain is called *Vesuvius*, and at this day by the Italians, *Vesuvio*, or *Monte di Somma*.

Whoever will compare the two epistles of PLINY, with the historical account of this eruption by DION CASSIUS^d, will find them agree in many particulars. DION indeed mixes his narrative with fable, and talks of gigantic apparitions in the air: but he seems to say positively, that this was the first eruption of the mountain. The earthquake, which attended it, was very terrible, and, in the consequences, very destructive: the terror of it is described by PLINY in this epistle; the destruction which it occasioned, by DION CASSIUS, who says, that the cities of *Herculanum*, and *Pompeii*, were both swallowed up at this particular period. And PLINY, at the beginning of the sixteenth epistle, seems to confirm this account by an expression^e, which, although a little obscure and affected, in all probability bears reference to the earthquake mentioned by DION, and the great numbers of people, consumed at that time.

Vehicula, quæ produci jusseramus, quanquam in planissimo campo in contrarias partes agebantur; ac ne lapidibus quidem fulta in eodem vestigio quiescebant: “The carriages, which we had ordered to be brought forth, although they were in a plain field, were shaken from one side to the other: and even when we attempted to fix them by stones, they did not continue immoveable.” PLINY has not mentioned to what purpose, or with what intent, these carriages were brought out; but the weight of them, and of the heavy stones, placed to keep them steady, might possibly encrease the violent agitations below; it being certain, that where these subterraneous fires meet with greatest resistance, they occasion the greatest demolitions; so that the parts of the

*Talem dives arat Capua, et vicina Vesvo
Nola iugo:*

But, after VIRGIL had paid this compliment to the fertility of *Nola*, upon his application to the inhabitants, for leave to bring water through their territories to some lands belonging to himself, and their refusal of his request, the poet in indignation changed *Nola* to the word *Ora*.

^d Lib. 66. edit. LEUNCLAVII.

^e *Quamvis enim pulcherrimarum clade terrarum, ut populi, ut urbes memorabili casu, quasi semper victurus occiderit.*

earth,

PLINY'S EPISTLES.

earth, which contain marble, or stone, and consequently make the strongest oppositions to their efforts, are always more shattered, than those parts, which consist of sand, gravel, and such lighter materials, as yield more easily to the progress of the vapour.

The eruptions of *Vesuvius* are very uncertain. They depend on many fortuitous causes, which supply, or kindle the subterraneous fuel. They cannot have stated periods, or be fixed to any time, or number. In the year sixteen hundred and thirty one, so destructive a conflagration happened, that it occasioned the following curious inscription, which is placed about three miles distant from *Naples*, in the road to *Vesuvius* :

Posterì, posterì, vestra res agitur.

Dies facem præfert diei; nudius perendino.

Advortite.

*Vicies ab satù solis, nì fabulatur historia, arsit Vesuvius,
Immani semper clade hæsitantium :*

Ne posthac incertos occupet, moneo.

*Uterum gerit mons hic bitumine, alumine, ferro,
Auro, argento, nitro, aquarum fontibus gravem,
Seriùs, otius ignescit, pelagoque insuente pariet :*

Sed ante parturit, concutitur, concutit solum,

Fumigat, coruscat, flammigerat, quatit

Acrem, horrendum immugit, boät, tonat,

Arsit finibus acrolas.

Emigra dum licet,

Jam jam enititur, erumpit, mixtum igne

Lacum evomit, præcipit: ruit ille lapsu.

Seramque fugam prævertit

Si corripit, altum est, periisti.

Anno salutis 1631,

Tu, si sapias, audi clamantem lapidem.

Sperne larem, sperne sarcinulas;

Mora nulla, fuge.

“ Posterity,

- " Posterity, posterity this is your concern
 " one day enlightens the next, that next
 " improves the third.
 " Be attentive.
 " Twenty times, since the creation of the sun
 " has *Vesuvius* blaz'd, never without a horrid
 " destruction of those, that hesitated to fly.
 " This is a warning, that it may never
 " seize you unappriz'd.
 " The womb of this mountain is pregnant with
 " bitumen, alum, iron, gold, silver, nitre
 " and fountains of water.
 " Sooner, or later it kindles, and when the sea
 " rushes in, will give it's birth vent.
 " But before it's labours come on it is shaken,
 " and shakes the earth round it: smokes, gleams,
 " throws up bickering flames, shakes the air,
 " roars horribly, bellows, thunders, drives the
 " inhabitants from its quarters.
 " Retire whilst you may :
 " Now, now, it's throws come on, it bursts out,
 " it flings up lakes mixt with fire,
 " down down it rushes and præcipitate
 " Prevents your tardy flight, and stamps your fate :
 " if it once surprizes you, all is over.
 " If you are wise, hear this speaking stone .
 " Neglect your domestic concerns, neglect your
 " goods, and chattels, there is no delaying ;
 " Fly."

There is scarce any part of this twentieth epistle, which requires explanation. The narrative is plainer, and more connected, than we find it in the sixteenth. The filial piety appears very evident, and the escape almost miraculous. Our loss is much to be regretted, in the historical account, which TACITUS must have given from these materials: at least it is to be wished, that so extraordinary an event had been transmitted to us by all the best and most judicious writers of the æra, in which it happened; so that we might have seen the various reflexions upon such a phænomenon, in an age when natural philosophy had made so little progress, and when experimental philosophy was totally unknown.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XXI.

PLINY to CANINIUS RUFUS.

I Am one of those, who admire the antients, not in the manner practised by certain persons, who despise every genius of our own times. I cannot think nature either so wearied, or so barren, that she brings forth nothing at present worthy of praise. And therefore, I have lately attended VERGINIUS ROMANUS, when he read to some few friends a comedy, composed by him in the manner of the antient comic drama; and the composition is so excellent, that it may serve hereafter as a standard for that kind of writing. I cannot tell, whether you are acquainted with the man: you ought certainly to know him. The probity of his morals, the elegance of his wit, the variety of his works, make him worthy to be taken notice of. He has written some farces, which have appeared delicate, lively, graceful; and, as much as that sort of writing will allow, eloquent. Indeed every perfect work, of what kind soever, may be termed eloquent. He has also writ some comedies, in imitation of MENANDER, and the dramatic writers of that age; and which I look upon to be equal to the performance of PLAUTUS and TERENCE. This was the first time he attempted the stile of the antient comedy; but he shews he had long since made it his study. In his composition neither strength, majesty, art, satire, sweetness, or wit, were wanting. He illustrated virtue, he inveighed against vice. He made use of feigned names decently; of real names properly. If poets were absolutely confined to the limits of truth, he has exceeded them in his partiality towards me.

But in one word, I will demand this work from him, which I will send you, not only to read, but to get

get by heart ; for, I have no manner of doubt, that, when once you have it in your hands, you will not easily lay it down again. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

VERGINIUM ROMANUM *paucis legentem comœdiam ad exemplar veteris comœdiæ scriptam* : “ I attended VERGINIUS ROMANUS while he was reading a comedy to some few friends, composed after the model of the antients.” The original antient comedy ^f was so different from that kind of composition, to which it was afterwards polished, that VERGINIUS ROMANUS cannot be supposed to have written any drama after so wild and indigested a manner, as was pursued in the earliest ages of that kind of poetry. SUSARION, a Grecian poet, is the first comic writer, of whom we find any record. But the three authors, who are more particularly distinguished for the antient comedy, are CRATINUS, EUPOLIS, and ARISTOPHANES, and upon their plan, it may be presumed, that ROMANUS formed the dramatic piece mentioned in this epistle.

MENANDRUM *aliosque ætatis ejusdem æmulatus*. *Licet has inter PLAUTINAS TERENTIANASQUE numeres* : “ Having emulated MENANDER, and others of the same age, although you might place PLAUTUS and TERENCE in that list.” The reputation of MENANDER was in the highest esteem among the Romans. The imitation of him, in any degree of perfection, was thought a sufficient characteristic of a refined genius. TERENCE ^g is said to have copied him with great exactness. PLINY therefore could not have devised a greater compliment to VERGINIUS ROMANUS, than by mentioning him upon a level with MENANDER ^h, PLAUTUS, and TERENCE. There seems to have been less

^f The derivation of the word *comœdia* is from *κῶμῳ*, *vicus*, and *ᾠδῇ*, *cantus*, as these satirical, or rather abusive compositions, were first sung in country villages.

^g JULIUS CÆSAR, in his verses upon TERENCE, calls him,

O dimidiate MENANDER !

^h The works of MENANDER, although they were very numerous, are lost, except some fragments. Vide AUL. GELLII. Noct. Att. Lib. 2. cap. 23.

delicacy

delicacy in dramatic performances, among the antients, than has of late years appeared among the moderns. If we look into the plays of PLAUTUS, his characters are often too low, and mean. A footman, an usurer, a prostitute, and persons of that rank, are the heroes of most of his pieces: his wit is harsh, and far fetched; his expressions vulgar, and ungenteel. This last fault is the consequence of the first, as it would be absurd, that footmen should talk like courtiers, or usurers like gentlemen. So that the original of his errors may be resolved into the ill choice of the persons, whom he represents. And, even in that particular, he is in some measure excusable, as it is universally allowed, that his circumstances reduced him to work at a mill; and consequently to keep the meanest company. He was born at *Sarsina* in *Umbria*. And although his writings cannot be justified in every instance, yet upon the whole, he has certain excellencies, that far outweigh his failings. He observes the rules of the stage with great regularity; his plots are well devised, and the knot of them is most commonly untied in an agreeable and surprising manner: so that he seems a very good painter, in the representations of nature, but the subjects of his pictures are only fit for sign-posts.

TERENCE was a Carthaginian. He was born in the year of *Rome* five hundred and sixty, about nine years before the death of PLAUTUS. He was originally a slave to a Roman senatorⁱ; who took great care of his education, and made him free while he was very young. He has been most deservedly admired for the purity of his stile. His characters are always naturally drawn, but have little variety. They are generally too low and mean like those of PLAUTUS; but he cannot claim the same indulgence to his errors: for he received the highest favours and friendship from all the chief nobility of *Rome*, especially from SCIPIO ÆMILIANUS, and from LÆLIUS. And, at his death, he was sufficiently rich to leave his daughter, whom he had married to a Roman knight, a house and gardens, of twenty acres in compass^k. The justest critics, upon his six plays,

ⁱ TERENTIUS LUCANUS.

^k The report, that he was extremely poor, and that his plays were not his own, seems to have been the effect of malice and envy. It has been handed down to posterity with that success, and degree of credit, which too often attends calumny.

are of opinion, that the *Andria* and the *Adelphi* excel chiefly in the beauty of the characters, and the nice delineation of the manners; the *Eunuchus* and the *Phormio* in the vivacity of the plot; while the *Heautontimorumenos* and *Hecyra* have the advantage in the simplicity and easiness of stile. The objection made by JULIUS CÆSAR, to the plays of TERENCE, is undeniably just. The *vis comica* is wanting. His comedies are fitter for the closet than the stage. They may be read with greater pleasure than they can be seen. They contain so little action, and variety, that the audience must grow languid, and weary, before the conclusion. Yet, his language is so polite, although he is no excellent poet, that unless we have a relish for him, it is impossible to arrive at any perfection in the Latin tongue. The works of VERGINIUS ROMANUS, in imitation of these dramatic authors, are entirely lost.

EPISTLE XXII.

PLINY to CALESTRIUS TYRO.

A Great affair has been transacted, which affects all, who are to govern provinces, and all, who incautiously place too great a confidence in friends. LUSTRICUS BRUTTIANUS having detected his legate MONTANUS ATTICINUS in the commission of many villanies, wrote to CÆSAR upon the occasion. ATTICINUS aggravated his wickedness, by accusing BRUTTIANUS, whom he had purposely deceived. The cause was instituted. I was appointed one of the judges. Both parties pleaded for themselves, but in a summary way, and only touching on the principal heads of the matters in controversy; by which method truth is soon discovered. BRUTTIANUS produced his last will and testament, which he affirmed to be written by the hand of ATTICINUS. From this circumstance it appeared, how intimate a friendship had subsisted between them, and how necessary it was, that BRUTTIANUS should complain of the man, for whom he had formerly entertained so true an affection,

tion, whose base and notorious crimes he now mentioned. ATTICINUS, when he could not clear himself from the charge, quitted his defence in such a manner, that, as a defendant, he appeared a cheat; as an accuser, a villain. For having corrupted the secretary's servant, he intercepted the diaries of BRUTTIANUS, cutting out such passages as he thought fit; and thus, by an unparallel'd piece of wickedness, made use of his own crime, as a means to accuse his friend. CÆSAR acted most nobly. For he immediately put the question concerning ATTICINUS, and not concerning BRUTTIANUS. The former was condemned, and banished to an island; the latter received an honourable testimony of his integrity, and obtained the merit due to his constancy: for after having readily acquitted himself, he prosecuted his adversary with earnestness, in which his severity was as conspicuous as his truth and uprightness.

I have written this account to you, as a caution, that you, who are now appointed governor of a province, should depend upon yourself, without trusting others too much. Lastly, that if any person should by chance deceive you, (the thoughts of which strike me with terror) you may be assured a certain punishment will attend the deceit: but be always vigilant to guard against such a necessity. For it is not so agreeable to be revenged, as it is vexatious to be imposed upon. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This epistle contains a very just caution to all governors of provinces, whose station makes it necessary, that they should place confidence in particular persons; "but let that confidence, says PLINY, be nicely and sparingly dispensed." The instance, which he gives to corroborate this advice, is remarkable.

LUSTRICUS BRUTTIANUS, a proconsul, (it is not mentioned of what place,) appointed MONTANUS ATTICINUS to be

be his legate^a. He had entertained so good an opinion of ATTICINUS, that he had even trusted him with the secrets of his will. ATTICINUS was guilty of some misdemeanours in his employment as a legate. BRUTTIANUS thought it necessary to let TRAJAN know the discovery, which he had made of these enormities. ATTICINUS, conscious of guilt, and aware of the proconsul's intentions, found means to bribe a clerk belonging to the chief secretary^b of BRUTTIANUS; and getting possession of the dispatches intended for the emperor, he cut out such parts of those papers, as related to himself, and hastened to *Rome* to accuse BRUTTIANUS of evil administration in his proconsulship. BRUTTIANUS returned from his government, not only to defend his own character, but to accuse ATTICINUS. Thus, two causes were instituted. But the iniquities of ATTICINUS were immediately manifest: He was banished to an island: BRUTTIANUS was acquitted with honour.

Protulit BRUTTIANUS testamentum suum, quod ATTICINI manu scriptum esse dicebat. Hoc enim et arcana familiaritatis, et querendi de eo, quem sic amasset, necessitas indicabatur. Enumeravit crimina fœda, manifestaue: BRUTTIANUS “shewed, in open court, his will, written by the very “hand of ATTICINUS. This was at once a proof, of that “private confidence, which had subsisted between them, “and of the absolute necessity of complaining against a man, “whom he had formerly esteemed his friend. The crimes, “which he pointed out, were scandalous, and evident.” This particular part of the epistle requires explanation. The last sentence, *enumeravit crimina fœda, manifestaue*, ought to have been placed before the account, which PLINY gives concerning the will; otherwise it appears, as if the will was a branch of the accusation: but it was only produced, as an evidence of the friendship, which had subsisted between ATTICINUS, and BRUTTIANUS, and as a proof, that BRUTTIANUS was not actuated by malice against his

^a *Comitem suum*. The word *comes* signifies, in this place, a legate, a person next in authority to the proconsul himself.

^b *Scriba* is the secretary of a magistrate in his public employment. Thus, there were secretaries called *scribae ædiles, prætorii, quæstorii*. And it is remarkable, that they were not admitted to the chief offices of the state, till they had publicly renounced their profession as secretaries. See LIVY, book 9. chap. 46.

legate, whose crimes had been so notorious, that the proconsul found himself under a necessity of accusing the very person, whom he had entrusted to transcribe his last will. And after these crimes had been fully proved, the sight of the will must necessarily raise the highest indignation in the judges against ATTICINUS, who appeared at once unworthy of private friendship, and of public employment.

Corrupto enim scribæ servo, interceperat commentarios: “for having corrupted the slave of his secretary, he had intercepted his journals.” The commentaries signify journals of transactions, which the consuls and chief magistrates constantly kept for their own use and justification. Thus, TULLY says to ATTICUS, *commentarium consulatus mei Græcè compositum misi ad te*: “I have sent you a journal written in Greek of my consulship.” But the secretary, who could trust memorials of such consequence to the custody of a slave, was guilty either of a carelessness, or corruption, that renders him inexcusable..

Fecit pulcherrimè CÆSAR; non enim de BRUTTIANO, sed statim de ATTICINO perrogavit: “CÆSAR asked the opinion of the judges: He put the Question, Is ATTICINUS guilty?” The word *perrogavit* sometimes, say the commentators, signifies *statuit*, or *pronunciavit*. But in this epistle it cannot bear such a construction. The following sentence shews the decree of the judges. *Damnatus, et in insulam relegatus*: “He was condemned, and banished to an island.” Had it been the decree of CÆSAR only, PLINY would have expressed it otherwise. He would have said, *statim ATTICINUM damnavit, et in insulam relegavit*: “That CÆSAR condemned ATTICINUS, and banished him into an island.” In the beginning of the letter, PLINY tells us he was one of the judges, *fui in consilio*. It would have been of no consequence to have summoned judges, if the emperor had resolved not to pay any regard to their determination; and such an absolute decision, however authorized by the arbitrary proceedings of former emperors, must have been totally inconsistent with the equity and gentleness of TRAJAN's disposition.

EPISTLE XXIII.

PLINY to TRIARIUS.

YOU earnestly desire me to be an advocate in a cause, committed to your conduct, reputable in itself, and wherein the pleader may gain applause. I will obey, but not without a gratuity. You will say, how happens it, that PLINY insists upon a fee? It may happen; for I will demand a fee, that shall be more honourable, than if I undertook this cause without any reward.

I desire and even covenant, that my friend CREMUTUS RUSO shall be a joint advocate with me in this cause. Such has been my usual custom; and I have already put it in practise in favour of several young lawyers, now eminent in their profession. For I am extremely desirous to introduce worthy young men to the court, and place them in the road of fame; a service, which if to any friend, I ought more especially to bestow upon RUSO, both on account of his noble birth, and the great affection which he bears me. And I think it of great consequence, that he should be heard in the same causes, and be distinguished on the same side with myself. Oblige me in this instance, before he pleads. When he has pleaded, you will return me thanks. I undertake for him, that he shall answer your expectations, my own hope, and the importance of the cause itself. He is of the best disposition imaginable, and will soon introduce others; if, in the mean time, he shall be encouraged by us. Nor indeed can the genius of any man become immediately so conspicuous, as to gain him reputation, unless there is subject and opportunity of shewing himself, joined to the recommendation and encouragement of a particular friend. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

This is the only epistle extant from PLINY to TRIARIUS, of whose name and character all other authors are silent; and we must remain in the same ignorance of RUFO. The epistle seems to have been written in the latter time of PLINY, when his fame, as an orator, was entirely established, from the expression, *solutum hoc mihi, ac in pluribus claris adolescentibus facilitatum*: "This was my constant custom, " and what I have done in favour of many young men of " abilities: " he appears already to have introduced many eminent lawyers to the bar. Such a custom was much to his honour; and the letter itself is void of that vanity, into which a conscious sensibility of his merits, and excellent disposition, often betrays him. His acts of friendship, and his other numerous virtues, could never be too highly extolled, except by his own pen.

EPISTLE XXIV.

PLINY to MACER.

OF how great consequence to an action is the person, who puts it into execution! For the very same facts are either highly extolled, or greatly depreciated, according to the renown, or obscurity of those, who perform them.

I was lately sailing across our *Larian* lake, when one of my friends, a man much older than myself, shewed me a villa, which had a particular bed-chamber hanging over the lake. " Out of that room, " says he, a citizen's wife threw herself and her husband." I desired to know the cause. " The husband had for some time laboured under an ulcerous disorder, that began to putrify in those parts, " which modesty must forbear to mention. The " wife entreated to look upon the sore, with an assurance, that she would most faithfully tell him, " if there was a possibility of his cure. Upon inspection,

“ spection, she thought the case desperate. She then
 “ advised him to die; and was herself not only the
 “ companion, but even the leader, the example, and
 “ the occasion of his death. For, tying herself to
 “ her husband, she plunged with him into the lake.”
 I was ignorant of this catastrophe till very lately, al-
 though I was born in the same town, nor has the
 fame of it spread beyond the neighbourhood; not
 that the action itself, but the person only, is inferior
 to ARRIA. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

PLINY begins this epistle with an exclamation: *Quam*
multum interest, quid a quo fiat! “ How important is it,
 “ what, and by whom a thing is done!” To which
 might be added another exclamation; “ How important
 “ is it, where, and at what time, a thing is done!” In our
 age, and nation, it would be difficult to find the most affec-
 tionate wife, willing to put an end to her own life, if she
 discovered her husband in the dangerous condition described
 in this letter. She would attribute the distemper to certain
 causes, that might plausibly excuse her from dying with
 him; and therefore, if she thought it necessary to throw
 him out of a window, she would scarce chuse to accompany
 him in his fall. The action in the Roman lady was heroi-
 cal; and the reflexions of PLINY are extremely just. Vir-
 tues are rendered more or less splendid by particular names
 and situations; so that, like planets, those, which are
 nearest us, seem the largest, and most refulgent, because
 most conspicuous; when those, at a greater distance, are
 of equal magnitude and brightness, but not so perfectly
 known?

EPISTLE XXV.

PLINY to BEBIUS HISPANUS.

YOU tell me, that ROBUSTUS, a Roman knight
 of great distinction, undertook a journey as far
 E 3 as

PLINY'S EPISTLES.

as *Ocriculum*, in company with my friend ATTILIUS SCAURUS; since which time he has never appeared. You desire, that SCAURUS may come to me, and that he may point out to me, if possible, some footsteps, by which we may trace his companion. Let him come, though I fear to no purpose; for I am suspicious, that the same accident, I know not what to call it, may have happened to ROBUSTUS, that some time since befel my countryman METILIUS CRISPUS. I had obtained for him a military employment; and when he went to take possession of it, I had made him a present of forty thousand *nummi*^c, that he might furnish himself with a proper equipage. But, from the time of his departure, I never received any letter from him, or saw any person, who could give me an account of his death. Whether he was killed by his own servants, or whether they were murdered with him, is not known. It is certain, neither he, nor any of his servants, ever appeared afterwards. I wish we may not find, that ROBUSTUS has met with the same fate. However, I will send for SCAURUS. This obedience I owe to your commands. This obedience I owe to the very commendable request of that most excellent young man, who, with such wonderful filial piety, and such industry, is in search of his father. Heaven make him as successful in discovering his father, as he has already been in discovering his father's companion^d. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The subject of this epistle is very extraordinary. It is in answer to a letter from HISPANUS, in which he had told PLINY, that ROBUSTUS, a Roman knight, who was accompanied by ATTILIUS SCAURUS, as far as *Ocriculum*, had been some time missing, and was sought after, with the utmost degree of anxiety, by his family and friends. PLINY replies, that

^c Equal to 322*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*

^d ATTILIUS SCAURUS.

he fears ROBUSTUS is murdered ; and then mentions a misfortune of that kind, which happened to METILIUS CRISPUS, who, being an officer, had set out towards the army to take possession of his post, and was either murdered by his own servants, or by robbers. There are not any other circumstances related of this affair. Nor are we told, in any future epistle, the catastrophe of ROBUSTUS. But from the expression, *interceptus ne sit a suis, an cum suis, dubium*, “ It is doubtful, whether his servants killed him, “ or died with him,” we may conjecture, that if he perished by the hands of robbers, they must have consisted of very large squadrons ; since ROBUSTUS from his quality, and CRISPUS from his station, must have travelled with a retinue, sufficient to have guarded them against a small number of men.

E P I S T L E XXVI.

PLINY to SERVIANUS.

I Rejoice, and congratulate you, that you have thoughts of marrying your daughter to FUSCUS SALINATOR. He is of a patrician family ; his father is in high reputation ; his mother is equally esteemed. SALINATOR himself is studious, learned, and witty. In innocence, he is a child ; in cheerfulness, a youth ; in sedateness, an old man. Think me not deceived by friendship. My affection for him indeed is very great : his kindneses, and his regards towards me, deserve it. But yet I can judge of him ; and the stronger my affection, the nicer will be my judgement. And I will take upon me to promise, from my own experience, that your hopes could not form a more acceptable son-in-law.

The remaining wish is, that he may make you soon a grandfather of children like yourselves. How happy will that time be to me, when by an equal right in both parents, I may embrace his children, and your grand-children, as if they were in the very same degree of affinity to myself ! Adieu.

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OBSERVATIONS.

The character here given of FUSCUS SALINATOR is a most distinguished piece of painting, and is answerable to the character given of him, jointly with NUMIDIUS QUADRATUS^e, in the eleventh epistle of this book. The words there are, *nec modo temporibus nostris, sed literis ipsis ornameto futurum: mira probitas, constantia salva, decorus habitus, os Latinum, vox virilis, tenax memoria, magni ingenium, judicium æquale*: “That he [QUADRATUS] would “be an ornament not only to this age, but to the state of “letters in all times: his probity was amazing, his constancy unquestioned, his manners were genteel, his language true Latin, his voice manly, his memory tenacious, “his wit great, his judgement not inferior.” The words here are, *ipse studiosus, literatus, etiam disertus: puer simplicitate, comitate juvenis, senex gravitate*: “He had great “application, literature, and even eloquence; he had the “simplicity of a child, the agreeableness of youth, and the “sedateness of age.” There is a remarkable conciseness in the idiom of the Latin language, that conveys a great strength of expression in very few words; of which this quotation is an elegant example. But FUSCUS SALINATOR is one of the many, among PLINY'S friends, whose names are not extant in any other author. He is again mentioned in the tenth book.

^e *Audiavi summæ indolis juvenes duos, FUSCUM SALINATOREM, et NUMIDIUM QUADRATUM, egregium par.*

EPISTLE XXVII.

PLINY to SEVERUS.

YOU desire me, as you are consul elect, to consider in what manner you ought to frame your speech, which is intended in honour of the emperor. The theme is easy; the management of it difficult. His virtues afford large materials. However, I will write to you, or, as I rather chuse, I will explain to you my opinion in a personal conversation, after having

ing acquainted you with those, which I conceive to be the chief difficulties.

My doubt is, whether I ought to persuade you to act in the same method, that I pursued.

When I was appointed consul, I abstained from every compliment, which, if not adulation itself, might yet be termed such; not only that I might appear to act with my usual freedom, but because I know such a method would be most agreeable to the emperor; to whose praise it must chiefly redound, that whatever I said, should not proceed from the influence of fear. I enumerated the mighty honours, that had been bestowed upon every one of the most unworthy of his predecessors, from whom this excellent prince could not be better distinguished, than by a different manner of addressing him: nor did I attempt to disguise this opinion, lest the omission might seem not to proceed from judgement, but from forgetfulness. This was my method of proceeding: but the same paths are not agreeable, nor indeed proper, to all men. Besides, the inducements of doing any thing, or omitting it, vary, not only according to the different vicissitudes of particular persons, but also, according to the change of times and affairs. Thus, the recent actions of our most illustrious emperor afford a new, great, and true theme for panegyric: for which reason, (as I said before) I am in doubt, whether I ought to persuade you to pursue my plan. I am in no doubt, that by way of advice, I ought to place before you the method, which I pursued. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

We are not to be surprised at any encomiums upon **TRAJAN**. He was, in a manner, the immediate successor of **DOMITIAN**. The reign of **NERVA** was short, and was rather the reign of **TRAJAN** his coadjutor, than of **NERVA** himself. The Romans had suffered so many cruelties
from

from DOMITIAN, that an emperor, far inferior in humanity to TRAJAN, must have appeared beautiful in their eyes. But it is impossible to agree with PLINY, where he says, *omni hac, etsi non adulatione, specie tamen adulationis abstinui*: "I not only abstained from flattery, but even avoided every appearance of it." The panegyric itself, almost from the beginning to the end, is an exception against this averment: there is a strain of adulation, that runs throughout the whole; and although many parts of it are justly applicable to that excellent prince, to whom it was addressed, yet the assertion, in this epistle, convinces us, that PLINY, like most other authors, is a very improper judge of his own works. Or perhaps, by perpetual repetition of flattery, the flatterer himself at last imagines, that he speaks truth.

The Latin of this epistle is far from being elegant, or easy. The style is laboured, and the whole letter seems to have been written under a constraint; of which PLINY appears so sensible, that he refers his more particular, and probably more candid answer, to a personal conversation.

EPISTLE XXVIII.

PLINY to PONTIUS.

I Am well apprized of the reason, why I did not find you attending my arrival in *Campania*. But notwithstanding your absence, you seem to have glided here in person; such was the vast quantity of every kind of provision, brought to me in your name: of all which I shamelessly accepted; your servants desiring me to act in that manner: and, had I done otherwise, I was under apprehensions, that I might have incurred your displeasure against myself and them. For the future, unless you will put some bounds to such excess, I must. And I have already declared to your domestics, that if ever hereafter they should offer to me such a profuse table, I was resolved to accept of nothing. You will say I ought to use whatever is your property, as if it were my own.

True;

True; but then it ought to be in the same manner, with discretion. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

There is great politeness in this epistle. The subject of it is an entertainment, which PLINY had received from his friend PONTIUS in *Campania*: but the original dialect is so delicately elegant, and so expressively concise, that it is not easily to be transfused into any other language. Of which the first sentence is an example.

Scio quæ tibi causa fuerit impedimento, quo minus præcurrere adventum meum in Campaniam posses. “ I know what obstacle hindered you from outstripping my arrival in *Campania*.” From this sentence we learn that PONTIUS, upon PLINY’s intended journey into *Campania*, would (unless, *causa fuerit impedimento*, he had been hindered by some particular avocation) have hastened with the utmost expedition, to have attended, and to have prepared for our author’s arrival there.

Sed quanquam absens, totus hic migrasti: tantum mihi copiarum qua urbanarum, qua rusticarum, nomine tuo oblatum est. Such a compliment can scarce be exceeded. “ Although you were absent, says PLINY, your whole soul seems to have diffused itself throughout your territories. “ You have glided hither like a good genius, invisible, but “ exerting the influence of your power. Your generous “ commands have been so exactly executed by your domestics, that I have received in your name the most magnificent entertainment, that *Rome* or *Campania* could “ produce.”

By the words, *hic migrasti*, it seems as if PLINY wrote this letter at the house of PONTIUS. The generosity of PONTIUS, and the gratitude of PLINY, are equally eminent. The conclusion of the epistle is admirably well polished, and from the beginning to the end, it is as perfect a sample of Roman elegance, as can be found among the records of antiquity.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XXIX.

PLINY to QUADRATUS^e.

AVIDIUS QUIETUS, who had an extreme affection for me, and (to say no less satisfaction,) approved of my behaviour, used to mention, among many other precepts of THRASEA, (with whom he was intimately acquainted) this particular maxim: "That causes, either of friends, of the poor, or of an exemplary kind, ought to be undertaken." Why the causes of our friends? Here no explanation is requisite. Why of the poor? Because in such circumstances, both the integrity and the humanity of the pleader are most conspicuous. Why those of an exemplary nature? Because it is of great consequence, whether a good or a bad precedent is established. To these different instances I will add, possibly out of ambition, such causes, as are eminent, and illustrious in themselves. For, it is just sometimes to plead for the sake of glory and reputation. Then the cause belongs to the pleader himself.

As you have consulted me upon this occasion, these are the bounds, which I have pointed out, for your dignity, and your modesty. Nor do I forget, that custom not only is, but is acknowledged to be the best master in the art of speaking. For I observe many, who, with mean capacities, and no learning, have from practice only, arrived to a good manner of pleading. But by experience, I find the truth of that saying, of which POLLIO is the reputed author; "By pleading well I obtained great practice; by great practice I was disabled from pleading as well as before." Because, by too continual a constancy in the same manner of speaking we habituate ourselves

^e The nephew of QUADRATILLA. See book 7. ep. 24.

to a fluency of speech, rather than to a digestion of the subject matter; and we become rash, rather than properly confident. Nor did ISOCRATES lose the character of being the greatest orator; although the weakness of his voice and his modesty prevented him from speaking in a public audience. Therefore read, write, and consider a great deal, that you may be prepared to plead, when you have inclination; and you will have that inclination when you ought to plead. I have generally pursued this method; sometimes I have yielded to necessity, which is one branch of reason. For I have pleaded some causes by command of the senate, among which however were some of the kind recommended by THRASEA, exemplary in themselves. I pleaded for the *Andalusians* against BÆBIUS MASSA. The question was, Whether their complaint against him should be received: it was received. I was again advocate for them, when they complained against CÆCILIUS CLASSICUS. A question arose, Whether the provincial officers of *Andalusia* ought to be punished, as partners and ministers of the proconsul in his crimes: they were punished. I prosecuted MARIUS PRISCUS, who being condemned by the law against bribery and corruption, claimed the clemency of that law; although his crimes had more than deserved the utmost severity of it: he was banished. I defended JULIUS BASSUS, as a person not enough upon his guard, nor sufficiently cautious, therefore not absolutely guilty: he demanded judges: his request was granted, and he kept his place in the senate. Lastly, I pleaded in the senate for VARENUS, when he required citations to summon his witnesses: he obtained those citations. For the future, I wish I may be commanded to appear only in such causes, as it would become me voluntarily to undertake. Farewell.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

This epistle points out the several kinds of causes, in which an orator, who intended to become as eminent for virtue as for eloquence, ought to engage himself. PLINY begins by introducing the maxim of THRASEA, who had divided all causes into three sorts. *Causas aut amicorum, aut destitutas, aut ad exemplum pertinentes.*

The words, *causas destitutas*, imply the causes of the poor. PLINY ascertains the meaning, by adding, *quod in illis maxime et constantia agentis, et humanitas cerneretur*: “Because, a disinterested pleader had the noblest opportunity of displaying his compassion, and generosity in assisting those persons, who wanted the abilities to see an advocate. In such instances his generosity must evidently appear. The only motives to engage him were humanity, and compassion. Neither mercenary, nor selfish principles, could possibly be his inducements. The fortitude of his mind, and the benevolence of his heart, could alone prompt him to defend the rights and properties of clients, who were miserable, indigent, and forlorn.”

Ad exemplum pertinentes. By this expression, PLINY seems to intend those causes, from the decision of which precedents might necessarily be drawn for future times. All causes, which were new, and as yet undetermined, were of this kind. And the several instances, afterwards mentioned in this epistle, contain in them certain particular points, that no preceding law or custom had sufficiently established.

The maxim of POLLIO is remarkable. The Latin is very expressive, but very short. *Commode agendo factum est, ut sæpe agerem; sæpe agendo, ut minus commode.* The meaning of this sentence may be thus explained: “I obtained great practice, by being always well prepared, and by never omitting any matter or circumstance, that might be of use and service to my client. When I was arrived to a great share of business, and a perpetual course of employment, I had not sufficient time to study and consider each particular cause; and of consequence I was not so serviceable to my several clients, as I had been, and should have continued, if a multiplicity of business had not distracted my attention.” Agreeable to this interpretation

tation is the reason assigned by PLINY for the truth of POLLIO's maxim: *Quia scilicet assiduitate nimia facilitas magis, quam facultas, nec fiducia, sed temeritas paratur*: "By
 " too much business we contract a habit of speaking readily,
 " rather than considerately: rashness takes place of judge-
 " ment: the proper confidence, arising from the latter, is
 " superseded by the hasty inconsideration of the former."

E P I S T L E XXX.

PLINY to FABATUS, his wife's grandfather.

TH E place of your birth ought to be regarded by me, equally with my own. The happiness of my family depends upon you. By care and attention to the spot of your nativity, I must enjoy pleasure at my own house, and safety at yours. It is true, the *Camillian villa*, which belongs to you in *Campania*, is impaired by time: however such parts of it, as are really most valuable, remain sound, or at least not much decayed. I stay therefore to see it properly refitted.

I appear indeed to have many friends; but scarce any of the sort, which you are seeking after, and which your affairs demand. My friends are all belonging to the law, or to the court. But the management of a farm requires an overseer of a robust and rustic disposition; to whom not any labour will seem difficult, nor any care servile, or any solitude melancholy. You have a very good opinion of RUFUS. He was familiarly acquainted with your son. But I am not certain, that he can do you proper service in the country. I know he wishes to be useful to you in the highest degree. Farewell.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

One of the commentators calls the first sentence of this epistle *locus subobscurus*, "an obscure passage." His obser-
 vation

vation is certainly right. The words in their common acceptation, and by the order, in which they are placed, appear difficult to be reconciled to sense. *Debemus, mehercule, natales tuos perinde ac nostros celebrare, cum lætitia nostrorum ex tuis pendeat, cujus diligentia et curâ hic hilares, istis securi sumus.* At first sight we imagine *natales tuos* to signify your birth-day. The translations have generally run in that channel. But how the celebration of a birth-day could give PLINY security abroad, although it might make him happy and chearful at home, is impossible to devise. If we read farther, and consider the occasion of this letter, we find it totally relative to a house in *Campania*, the *villa Camilliana*, where FABATUS was born. "I ought to honour the place of your nativity, says PLINY, as I honour my own." The house seems to have been in so ruinous a condition, at the time when PLINY wrote this epistle, that it was not habitable with any degree of security. He resolves therefore to apply himself, with great care and diligence, towards refitting it: nor could he be easy or happy at home, till he was certain, that the *villa Camilliana* was perfectly repaired. And he stays in *Campania* for that particular purpose^g.

The epistle is evidently in answer to a letter from FABATUS, desiring PLINY to inspect into the condition of this mansion house; and to procure for him a steward, or overseer, who might overlook his lands, and regulate his estate in *Campania*.

^g *Attendimus ergo, ut quam saluberrime reficiantur.*

EPISTLE XXXI.

PLINY to CORNELIANUS.

THE emperor having summoned me to council, at *Centumcellæ*, (that is the name of the place) I enjoyed there the highest satisfaction. For what could be more agreeable, than to behold the justice, majesty, and affability of our imperial master, even
in

in his retirement, where these qualifications become more conspicuous? Causes of different kinds were heard, and in such various shapes, as were sufficient to prove the virtue of the judge.

CLAUDIUS ARISTO, a man of consequence among the *Ephesians*, pleaded in his own defence. From the generosity of his temper, he had gained, without the least iniquity, the affection of the people. From hence arose envy: and an informer was spirited up against him, as unlike to him in principles, as the persons were, who employed the informer. He was therefore acquitted, and received satisfaction.

The next day the cause of GALITTA, accused of adultery was heard. She was married to a military tribune, who was then in pursuit of other preferments: she had stained her own honour, and the honour of her husband, by a criminal conversation with a centurion. The husband wrote an account of it to the consular legate, the consular legate to CÆSAR. The emperor having heard and considered all the evidence broke the centurion, and even banished him. Two were involved in the crime, one of whom as yet remained unpunished; but the husband, still in love with his wife, retarded her prosecution, not without some reflexions on his patience. He retained her in his house, after the accusation was exhibited against her for adultery; as if the removal of his rival made him perfectly easy. He was summoned to finish the charge which he did, against his will: but even in spite of the accuser, it was necessary she should be condemned. She was found guilty, and sentenced to the punishment inflicted by the Julian law. CÆSAR added to the sentence, both the name of the centurion, and an account of the military discipline; lest it might be imagined, he reserved the power of all such trials to himself.

The third day another cause was introduced, which had engaged much discourse, and occasioned a variety

of reports, concerning the codicils of JULIUS TYRO; part of which was allowed to be real, and other parts were charged to have been forged. SEMPRONIUS SENECIO, a Roman knight, and EURYTHMUS, the freedman of CÆSAR, and an officer of his household, were accused of this crime. When CÆSAR was in *Dacia*, the heirs jointly, by a written epistle, petitioned him to take the determination of the cause upon himself: he undertook it. Upon his return, he appointed a day for the hearing; and when some of the heirs would have quitted the prosecution, in respect, as it were, to EURYTHMUS, the emperor made this admirable answer; "Neither is he POLYCLETUS, nor "am I NERO." Yet, at their desire, he indulged them with an adjournment: when the time was elapsed, he sat down to hear the cause. Two of the heirs only appeared: they insisted, that all the heirs should be obliged to prosecute, since they had all jointly commenced the action, or that they also might be at liberty to quit the prosecution. CÆSAR spoke with great dignity, and temper. And when the advocate of SENECIO and EURYTHMUS insisted they should be left exposed to suspicions, unless they were heard in their own defence, the emperor replied, "*I am not concerned, whether they are liable to such suspicions: I am certainly suspected.*" Then turning to us, "*Consider how I ought to act. These heirs are seeking for some pretence of complaint, that they had not a permission to plead.*" Then, agreeable to the opinion of those admitted to the council, the emperor ordered, that notice should be given to the heirs to prosecute their cause; or that each of them should assign his reasons for desisting; otherwise that he would pronounce sentence against them as calumniators.

You see in how honourable and weighty affairs our days were past; to which succeeded the most agreeable amusements. We were admitted every day to supper;

supper; which, if considered as an entertainment from the emperor, was moderate. Sometimes we were amused with farces: sometimes the night was lengthened out by the most chearful conversations. On the last day, when we were taking leave (so punctual is CÆSAR in politeness) presents were sent to each of us. But to me, not only the importance of the causes, the honour of being admitted to council, the elegance and plainness of the meals were highly delightful, but also the place itself.

This most charming villa is surrounded by fields of the finest verdure; it hangs over the shore; where there is a bay, in which is an haven formed like an amphitheatre. The left side is fortified by a very strong work; they are now finishing the right side. In the mouth of the harbour is an island, which breaks the fury of a stormy sea, and yields a safe passage to ships on both sides of it. This island, visible as it is above the water, was made by art: great stones were carried in a ship of very large burden; these were thrown into the sea, one upon the other, opposite to the harbour. By their own weight they became fixed, and by degrees were cemented, and rose together like a fortification. The back of the stone-island is now higher than the water; it breaks the waves, that dash against it, and throws them to a great height. From hence arises a vast noise, and a white foam in the sea around. Piles of wood are again added to the stones, which, in process of time, may make the place appear as a natural island. This harbour has already, and will always have the name of the founder^a, and will be of particular safety to ships, as there is no other receptacle for them, throughout the whole length of this dangerous shore. Farewell.

^a TRAJAN.

OBSERVATIONS.

By the first expression in this letter, *evocatus in consilium a CÆSARE nostro*, "I was summoned to counsel by our imperial master," it is evident, that the emperor had no certain number fixed and appointed as his privy council; he summoned only such persons, as he thought proper.

The equity and firmness of TRAJAN's disposition are amply specified in this epistle, particularly in the case of GALITTA, whose adultery the emperor could by no means be prevailed upon to pardon, although the base submission of her husband had set him the example. *Julia legis pœnis relicta est*: "She was punished according to the Julian law. In all probability she was banished. The punishments inflicted by the Julian law were various; but as AUGUSTUS banished his daughter and grand-daughter, whose names were JULIA, for adultery, it may be supposed, that GALITTA underwent the same punishment.

JULII TYRONIS *codicilli*, *quos ex parte veros esse constabat, ex parte falsi dicebantur*: "The codicils of JULIUS TYRO, "which partly appeared to be true, and partly false." By this expression TYRO must have made several codicils, part of which were said to be real, and others were suspected to be forged. The Romans, in making their codicils, used less solemnity, and exactness, than in making their testaments. The codicils therefore were more liable to forgery.

EURYTHMUS CÆSARIS *libertus et procurator*: "EURYTHMUS, the freedman of CÆSAR, and his procurator." The *procurator* here signifies the person, who took upon him the charge and care of his master's affairs, particularly his revenue. TRAJAN was in *Dacia* at the time, when EURYTHMUS was supposed to have committed this crime, which answers the definition of the *procurator*, given by an old author, *procurator est, qui negotium absentis suscipit*: "The procurator is the person, who undertakes the business of one, who is absent." The emperor's behaviour upon this occasion is extremely bright. He is much moved by the apprehension of being suspected as too partial towards his freedman. He disavows the practice of former emperors, and in a very remarkable answer, points out the dissimilitude between himself and NERO, and between EURYTHMUS

MUS and POLYCLETUS. In the annals of TACITUS^b we find an account of POLYCLETUS, by which so much honour is reflected upon our ancestors, the ancient Britons, that the omission of the passage would be inexcusable.

Igitur ad spectandum Britanniae statum missus est ex libertis POLYCLETUS, magna NERONIS spe, posse auctoritate ejus, non modo inter legatum procuratoremque concordiam gigni, sed et rebelles barbarorum animos pace componi. Nec defuit POLYCLETUS, quo minus ingenti agmine Italiae Galliaeque gravis, postquam oceanum transmiserat, militibus quoque nostris terribilis incederet. Sed hostibus irrisui fuit, apud quos flagrante etiam tum libertate, nondum cognita libertorum potentia erat, mirabanturque, quod dux et exercitus tanti belli confector servitiis obedirent.

“ Upon this occasion, that the state of Britain might be
 “ fully examined, NERO sent thither POLYCLETUS, one of
 “ his freedmen, by whose authority the emperor was in great
 “ hopes to reconcile the animosities subsisting between the
 “ legate^c, and the procurator^d; and to reduce the fierce
 “ spirits of the barbarians^e to the thoughts of peace. Po-
 “ LYCLETUS was pleased with the employment, and he
 “ was still more elated, because, as in his journeys through
 “ Italy and Gaul, his prodigious train had been excessively

^b Annal. Lib. xiv. cap. xxxix.

^c PAULLINUS SUETONIUS was legate, lieutenant general, and governor of Britain. The same title still subsists with us; and appertains to the vice-roy of Ireland, who is stiled lord lieutenant general, and general governor of that kingdom.

^d JULIUS CLASSICIANUS was procurator. Here the word procurator signifies a public officer, who had the inspection and regulation of the revenue, and taxes, in the provinces. TACITUS, in the preceding chapter, takes notice of the disagreement between CLASSICIANUS and SUETONIUS. His words are, *Gentesque præferoces tardius ad pacem inclinant, quia JULIUS CLASSICIANUS successor CATO missus, et SUETONIO discors, bonum publicum privatis simultatibus impendebat*: “ These fierce warlike people [the Britons] were the less induced to peace, because such dissensions
 “ had happened between JULIUS CLASSICIANUS, (who was sent
 “ procurator in the room of CATUS) and SUETONIUS, who was
 “ lieutenant general, that their private animosities retarded the
 “ public welfare.”

^e The word *Barbarian* was a general term, signifying foreigners. The Romans borrowed that denomination of strangers from the Greeks.

“oppressive; so now in his passage across the ocean, that train
 “was become absolutely formidable to our own soldiers^f.
 “But he was a subject for derision to the Britons. EVEN
 “AT THAT TIME, THEY WERE INFLAMED
 “WITH THE LOVE OF LIBERTY, and, as yet,
 “had not been acquainted with the mighty power of freed-
 “men. They were amazed, that a general, and an army,
 “who had so victoriously finished a great war, should be-
 “come subservient to slaves.”

Alioquin se vel de calumniâ pronunciatum: “A sentence
 “should be otherwise pronounced against them as persons,
 “guilty of calumny.” Whoever introduced any cause
 from the spirit of malice, or vexation, was deemed a calum-
 niator, and was punished accordingly. The law concerning
 calumny was particularly excellent. The calumniator was
 to suffer the same punishments, that would have taken place
 against the person accused, if he had been found guilty.

*Vides quam honesti, quam severi dies, quos jucundissimæ re-
 missiones sequebantur*: “You see in what worthy pursuits,
 “and in what real business our time was passed, which
 “were succeeded again by the most agreeable relaxations.”
 By this paragraph, and the sentences which follow it, we
 again perceive the turn and disposition of TRAJAN'S mind.
 Justly severe as a judge, properly chearful as a companion;
 constant and intent to business; facetious with dignity,
 majestic with openness, and familiar with prudence. Or, as
 PLINY elegantly observes in his panegyric^g, *principi nostro
 quanta concordia quantusque concentus omnium laudum, omni-
 que gloriæ contigit! Nihil severitati ejus hilaritate, nihil gra-
 vitati simplicitate, nihil majestati humanitate, detrabitur*: “In
 “our prince, what an harmonious assemblage of every kind
 “of praise, and glory is united? His chearfulness never
 “deprives him of his judicial dignity: his gravity is not
 “lost in his artless behaviour: nor does his humanity de-
 “preciate his majesty.”

*Summo die abeuntibus nobis (tam diligens in CÆSARE hu-
 manitas) xenia sunt missa*: “At our departure, (so very
 “observant was the generosity of CÆSAR,) we all received
 “presents.” The *xenia* were presents made to departing

^f The Romans, who were in Britain, and who had defeated
 BOADICEA, and her army, by which conquest they totally sub-
 dued the Britons.

^g Chap. iv.

guests. They were the last tokens of hospitable affection. This particular kind of liberality was practised in the earliest ages. *Abraham gave all that he had* [his possessions in land, and the chief substance of his riches] *unto ISAAC; but unto the sons of the concubines, which ABRAHAM had, ABRAHAM gave gifts, and sent them away*^h. Agreeable to the eastern magnificence, *AHASUERUS made a great feast, and he made a release to the provinces, and gave gifts, according to the state of the king*ⁱ. HOMER often mentions this generous custom. When ULYSSES departed from ALCINOUS towards *Ithaca*,

Of ARETE's ^k train,
Three chosen maids attend him to the main:
This does a tunic and white vest convey;
A various casket that of rich allay^l.

When TELEMACHUS leaves the court of MENELAUS, he is loaded with presents^m. And we find in VIRGIL some pathetical lines, in which ÆNEAS and his train are most bountifully supplied with gifts, by HELENUS and ANDROMACHEⁿ. Such were the *xenia* ° of the antients. The moderns have not only abolished, but reversed this custom. By the established rules of our age and nation, all departing guests are obliged to leave presents, and to purchase, at an excessive dear rate, the entertainment and attendance, which they receive in the houses of their most intimate, and affectionate friends.

Villa pulcherrima cingitur viridissimis agris: “This charming villa is surrounded by delightful fields.” The *villa Centumcellæ* stood upon the same spot, where *Civita Vecchia* is now placed. *Imminet litori, cujus in sinu quam maximus portus, velut amphitheatrum*^p: “It is prominent

^h Genesis, ch. xxv. v. 5.

ⁱ Esther, ch. ii. v. 18.

^k The wife of ALCINOUS.

^l POPE's Odyss. B. 13. v. 82.

^m Odyss. B. 15.

ⁿ Æneid. lib. 3.

° In the 14th epistle of book the fifth, PLINY has this expression, *xeniis semper abstinui*. The *xenia* there signify fees or presents from clients to their lawyers.

^p I have here followed the edition of PLINY, by CELLARIUS, as it is agreeable to the description of this harbour by RUTILIUS. The reading in the edition, by LONGOLIUS, runs thus, *imminet litori, cujus in sinu fit cum maximè portus*.

“ over the shore, in whose bay may be seen a very noble
 “ port resembling an amphitheatre.” The *portus Tra-*
jani is to be seen in all the old maps; a commodious har-
 bour upon the shore of *Tuscany*. It is described in the itine-
 rary of *RUTILIUS* ⁹, and the description corresponds very
 exactly with this epistle. The lines are these :

Ad Centumcellas forti defleximus austro ;
Tranquillâ puppes in statione sedent.
Molibus æquoreum conciditur amphitheatrum,
Angustosque aditus insula facta tegit.
Attollit geminas turres, bifidoque meatu
Faucibus arctatis pandit utrumque latus.
Nec posuisse satis laxo navalia portu,
Ne vaga vel tutas ventilet aura rates :
Interior medias sinus invitatus in ædes
Instabilem fixis aëra nescit aquis.

“ To *Centumcellæ* with the wind we steer,
 “ The shipping finds a friendly harbour there :
 “ The moles an amphitheatre display,
 “ And a form'd island hides the narrow way.
 “ Two tow'rs arise, two diff'rent chasms divide,
 “ Affording each a path on either side :
 “ 'Tis not enough, that docks are there assign'd,
 “ Lest the unsafe shipping feel the wand'ring wind.
 “ But the mild bay conducted, while it goes
 “ Up to the houses, as invited, flows,
 “ And midst surrounding waves no breeze annoying
 “ knows.” }

⁹ *CLAUDIUS NUMANTIANUS GALLUS RUTILIUS* lived in the
 beginning of the fifth century. He was a man of great learning,
 and of considerable station in *Rome*. He composed an itinerary in
 verse, consisting of two books, one of which only remains en-
 tire, part of the second is lost.

EPISTLE XXXII.

PLINY to QUINTILIAN^a.

ALTHOUGH you have ever been extremely prudent in your desires, and although you have brought up your daughter in the same manner; a manner, which became your daughter, and the granddaughter of TUTILIUS: yet when she is to be married to so very considerable a man as NONIUS CELER, whose station, by his employments in the state, makes some degree of splendor necessary, she ought to be set out in her cloaths and equipage, (circumstances, which cannot encrease, but still must adorn her dignity) in a manner answerable to the situation of her husband. I know your mind is rich; your revenues, I know, are moderate. Let me therefore take part of your burden upon myself, and, as another parent, confer upon our child the gift of fifty thousand sesterces^b. I would contribute a larger sum, if I was not confident you would, from an excess of modesty, refuse me, and that the only method to prevail on you to accept of it, is by offering so small a present. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

Among the generous actions of PLINY, his present to the daughter of QUINTILIAN, who had been his tutor, is always mentioned, as an instance, that deserves the highest honour and applause. But the editors of PLINY have all mistaken the person, to whom the fifty thousand sesterces were presented. QUINTILIAN was rich, and in no neces-

^a In all the editions of PLINY, the title to the epistle runs thus, C. PLINIUS QUINTILIANO suo S. See the observations.

^b *Quinquaginta millia nummum*, fifty thousand sesterces, are equal to 403 l. 12. s. 11 d.

fity of receiving such a donation from his pupil. His riches are particularly mentioned by JUVENAL. The satirist, arraigning the luxury of the Romans, observes, that however expensive they were in other particulars, they were frugal and penurious in the education of their children, whose tutors were obliged to accept of the smallest salaries; and yet, says he, QUINTILIAN has an estate. But he is an extraordinary example of good fortune^c.

From QUINTILIAN's own words, we find it impossible, that this letter should be written to him. He had only two sons: they both died in their childhood; the youngest at five years old, the eldest in the tenth year of his age, after an illness of eight months, which he supported, adds QUINTILIAN, with amazing fortitude. The orator then complains to his friend, VICTORIUS^d, to whom he addresses this melancholy history of his family, that he must leave his fortune, and his writings, the fruits of a very long and painful life, to strangers. As he mentions, to VICTORIUS, the death of his wife and his two sons, he would certainly not have omitted the consolation in having a daughter, or the misfortune of losing her, if any such person had ever existed.

These observations have been taken from Monsieur L'Abbé GEDOYN, who has elegantly translated QUINTILIAN's *instituition of an orator* into French. The Abbé goes still farther in his surmises, and imagines this letter to have been written to QUINTIANUS, whose death PLINY laments in the ninth epistle of the ninth book. A note of CATANÆUS upon that epistle, in some measure, supports the supposition. The words of that scholiast are, AFRANIUS QUINTIANUS *consciis Pisonianæ conjurationis, quanquam apud TACITUM corrupte legatur QUINTILIANUS*: "AFRANIUS QUINTIANUS was concerned in the Pisonian conspiracy, although by a corrupt reading of TACITUS, he is called QUINTILIANUS." If the word QUINTILIANUS has been placed for QUINTIANUS in the editions of

^c Satir. VII. v. 186. the lines are these.

*Hos inter sumptus sestertia QUINTILIANO,
Ut multum, duo sufficient: res nulla minoris
Constabat patri, quam filius. Unde igitur tot
QUINTILIANUS habet saltus? Exemplum novorum
Fatorum transi.*

^d Vide Lib. 6. de oratoriâ instituitione.

TACITUS, the same corruption may very possibly have happened in the editions of PLINY.

E P I S T L E XXXIII.

PLINY to VOCONIUS ROMANUS.

*A*WAY, says VULCAN, *cease your works begun.* Whether you are at present engaged in writing, or reading, command all other compositions to be taken away, and removed out of your sight; and receive my oration, divine as the arms made by VULCAN. Could I have soared higher? In truth, it is excellent, even when compared with my former speeches. For I am at liberty to vie with myself.

This speech is in favour of ACCIA VARIOLA, and is highly distinguished, on account of the dignity of the person, the singularity of the cause, and the importance of the judgement. This lady, of noble birth, (married to a man of the prætorian order) being disinherited by her father, in eleven days after he had given her a step-mother, whom, in the folly of love, he had espoused, in the eightieth year of his age, now sued for her father's effects, before the *centumviri*. One hundred and eighty judges sat on the trial; for so many are appointed for these four courts: there were many advocates on both sides; even the seats of the lawyers were crowded, besides a very numerous and confused circle of people, surrounding the whole court, although it is so spacious. The tribunal itself was thronged. Men and women were leaning over the galleries, as it was easy to see what passed, though it was difficult to hear from that high part of the court. Great was the expectation, not only of fathers and daughters, but also of step-mothers. Variety of events ensued. For in two of the courts we prevailed, in the other two we were cast.

Such an affair is extremely amazing and remarkable. That so great a diversity of judgements should happen,

happen, by chance, in the same cause, tried before the same judges, pleaded by the same advocates, and at one and the same time. But this cannot appear the effect of chance.

The step mother was cast. A sixth part of her husband's effects had been devised to her by his will. SUBERINUS was cast. He had been disinherited by his father; and by a singular piece of impudence, although he dared not to claim his own father's effects, had put in pretensions to the effects of his step-father.

I have set these particulars before you, first, that my letter may inform you of what you will not find in the oration: and again (for I will discover my arts) that you may read the speech with more attention; although perhaps you will seem rather to be present at the very trial itself, than only to read an account of it: nor shall I despair, that this oration, although long, shall procure your favour, as much as if it were shorter. For, it is often made to appear new by the great variety of facts, and the nice distinction of them, by several little digressions, and by different kinds of eloquence. Many parts of it (I should not dare to advance the assertion but only to yourself) are sublime: many are controversial; many very artful. For, in the midst of the most contentious, and elevated parts of my pleading, I was under a necessity of making up accounts, and almost of calling for a table, and counters, for that particular purpose. So that of a sudden, the centumviral tribunal was turned into the form of a private counting-house*. I gave wings to my indignation, to my fury, and to my grief: and in so extended a cause, I was borne away, as it were, through a vast sea, by a multiplicity of winds. In a word, some of my intimate companions are pleased to think (I must again advance it)

* Where domestic accounts were settled by counters, [*calculi*, little flint stones] between the master of a private family, and his steward.

that

that this is the best oration I ever made, and as much excels all the rest, as the speech for CTESIPHO is superior to all the other works of DEMOSTHENES. Whether their opinion is right, you will easily determine, who so well remember all my other speeches, that you can by memory compare them with this oration, while you are reading it. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The question asked by PLINY, *Num superbius potui?* "Could I have displayed more ostentation?" may be very easily answered. It is impossible to rise higher in pride, and self-praise. PLINY speaks of this oration in the second epistle of the first book: but no remains of it have been transmitted to posterity. And those particulars, which are hinted at in this letter, are not easily to be resolved. The description of the courts of justice, and of the vast crowds attending so extraordinary a cause, give us a fine idea of the splendor and populousness of Rome.

Ingens utrimque advocatio, et numerosa subsellia: "The lawyers on both sides were very numerous, and the benches, on which they sat, were very much crowded." ROSINUS explains the *subsellia* agreeable to this interpretation. He says, they were not only the seats of the judges, but the benches, on which the lawyers sat, who were engaged in the cause^f. In a preceding sentence PLINY tells us, the judges, one hundred and eighty in number, were seated^g. He then immediately proceeds to the *subsellia* appointed for the advocates, who were to plead on the side of the plaintiff, or the defendant, and were engaged either by ACCIA VARIOLA, or by her step-mother.

Ad hoc stipatum tribunal. The tribunal, in the middle of which was placed the prætor's chair, is described as a large elevated seat, or pavilion, in the shape of a half moon: the two extremities were called *cornua*. Thus TACITUS speak-

^f *SUBSELLIA autem SEDILIA erant, in quibus ii iudices, qui magistratum curulem non gerebant, confidebant, et causas cognoscebant quales fuerunt tribuni plebis, quæstores, triumviri, ædiles plebis, et qui cum curulibus magistratibus judicabant, centumviri. Quin etiam ii, qui causas agebant, sive defenderent, sive accusarent, in subselliis confidebant.*

^g *Sedebant iudices, centum et octoginta.*

ing

ing of TIBERIUS, says, *Nec patrum cognitionibus satiat, judiciis adsidebat in cornu tribunalis, ne prætorem curuli depelleret*^h: "Not content with assisting in the senate, he constantly attended the courts of justice, sitting in one corner of the tribunal, that he might not drive the prætor out of the curule chair." VITRUVIUS gives us the exact size and form of a tribunal in the palace of AUGUSTUS. *Tribunal est in ea æde hemicyclio schematis minoris curvatura formatum: ejus autem hemicyclii in fronte est intervallum pedes quadraginta sex, introrsum curvatura pedes quindecim, uti qui apud magistratus starent, negotiantes in Basilica non impedirent, quod ipsa assignatione augustissimum videtur, et in arcus formam, quæ semicirculus minor est, cum ad diametrum non pertingat, redactum*ⁱ. By this description, the space, to contain such persons, who were in constant attendance upon the prætor, or were called near him upon business, was fifteen feet in the depth, and forty six feet in the front of the curve: and this space we find was amply filled at the trial between VARIOLA, and her step-mother.

Duobus consiliis vicimus, totidem victi sumus: "We carried our point, by the opinion of two courts, and, in our turn, we were cast by the same number." If this obscure sentence is to be construed literally, that the advocates for VARIOLA prevailed twice, and were twice defeated, the consequence would be, that there was no decision; but the determination of the suit is pointed out by PLINY himself, who tells us, *victa est noverca, victus SUBERINUS*. It is very difficult to explain this part of the epistle. The expression may possibly signify, that "many points were insisted upon in behalf of ACCIA VARIOLA, some of which were granted, and others denied: *quod non casus videretur*, which did not appear to me, says PLINY, the effect of chance, but of partiality."

The case of SUBERINUS seems very extraordinary. Under what pretence, or by what law could he lay claim to the estate of his step-father? We can only suppose, that the old man, in the doating fondness of his new wife, had been prevailed upon to sign some deed in favour of her son, by which he disinherited his own daughter: a lady, who by this epistle, and by the second epistle of the first book, appears to have been of most distinguished worth and dignity.

^h TACITI Annal. Lib. 1. cap. 75.

ⁱ VITRUVII Lib. 5. cap. 1.

EPISTLE XXXIV.

PLINY to MAXIMUS.

YOU acted right in promising an entertainment of gladiators to my clients the *Veronenses*: they have long loved, admired, and honoured you: your wife, whose person was so dear, and whose conduct was so engaging to you, was a native of that country: and to her memory, some public work, or spectacle, was owing; especially one of this kind, as it is most proper for a funeral. Besides, since the request was made to you by such a general voice, your refusal must have appeared rather ill-natured, than deliberate. It is much to your honour to have granted it in so easy, and so generous a manner. For, by these instances, the magnificence of your mind is made evident. I wish, that the panthers from *Africa*, of which you bought such great numbers, had arrived exactly on the day appointed: but although they were detained by tempests, your merit is still the same; and as such, it ought to be acknowledged; since it did not depend upon you, that the entertainment was not exhibited in the fullest manner. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

The *munera gladiatoria* were given to the people upon various occasions. But particularly, as PLINY observes, in honour of the dead. The first entertainment of that sort in *Rome* was exhibited by M. and D. BRUTUS, to the memory of their father. This barbarous custom afterwards became more fashionable and frequent; but continued in honour of men only, till JULIUS CÆSAR, who never omitted any opportunity of entertaining the populace, gave a public combat of gladiators, attended with a most magnificent feast, upon the death of his daughter JULIA. This was the first time, according to SÆTONTIUS^k, that those obsequies

^k Vide SÆTONTII JULIUM CÆSAR. cap. 26.

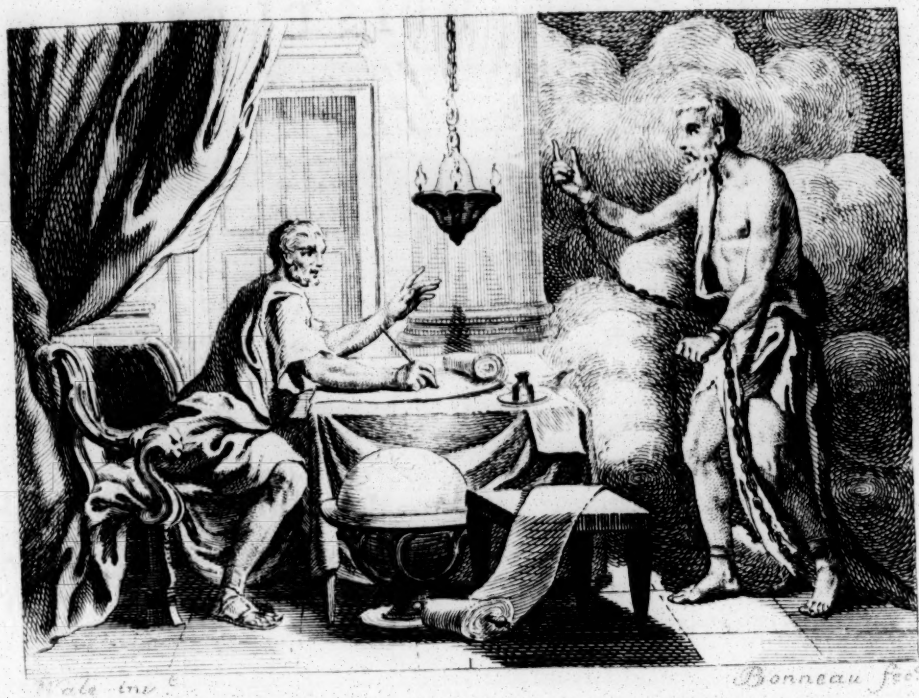
PLINY's EPISTLES.

were performed to the memory of any woman. The commemoration of the fair sex is very improperly celebrated by ceremonies of inhumanity. Death and wounds are the ensigns of MARS, but not of VENUS. The funeral rites in VIRGIL are particularly delicate, and shew in what a judicious manner he varies from his great original. The Trojan prisoners are barbarously sacrificed to the ghost of PATROCLUS: games and rewards are piously devoted to ANCHISES. In this instance we seem to have a tacit intimation, that VIRGIL disapproved of these sanguinary acts of devotion, which, in truth, were *according to the abomination of the heathen*, from whence they derived their original. They were practised in the time of PLINY¹, as appears from this epistle, where we find, that the *Veronenses* had applied to MAXIMUS, for public shews in honour of his wife, whom he had tenderly loved, and who was a native of *Verona*.

¹The emperor CONSTANTINUS, if I am not mistaken, was the first who forbade the combat of gladiators upon any account.

The End of the SIXTH BOOK.





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BOOK VII.

EPISTLE I.

PLINY to DUCENNIUS GEMINUS.

I AM alarmed at your obstinate illness; and although I have known you to have been most remarkably temperate, yet I fear, your sufferings may break in upon your philosophy. Let me therefore entreat you to bear your disease with patience. This remedy, which I thus prescribe, human nature itself allows to be both laudable and salutiferous. Certainly, this is the advice, which, whilst I am in health, I inculcate to my family: and should I fall ill, I flatter myself, my constancy would be such, as should not be followed either by shame, or repentance. But if my illness should conquer my resolution,

in such a case my positive orders are these, "*Give me nothing without the permission of my physicians: and be assured, that should you transgress by a compliance, I shall be as thoroughly provoked, as others are at a denial.*"

I remember particularly, when I had languished some time under the intolerable heat of a violent fever, and was at length so far recovered, as to be anointed, my physician offered to me a large draught: I held out my hand, desiring him to feel my pulse, and when I perceived him not perfectly satisfied, I returned the cup, although close to my lips, untasted. Afterwards, upon the twentieth day of my recovery, when the bath was preparing for me, I perceived my physicians all of a sudden whispering together: I desired to know the reason. They answered, "That it was possible I might bathe safely, but however they were not without their doubts." I immediately replied, "Under what necessity then am I to bathe?" Thus, when I was upon the very brink of the bath, and appeared to myself to be upon the point of plunging, I at once gave up the approaching pleasure, with perfect calmness and tranquillity; resigning myself to abstinence, with a composure of mind and countenance, exactly the same, as if I had bathed.

I have written to you this account, first, that my example may admonish you, and then again, that I myself, for the future, may be tied down to the same rules of temperance, to which I have obliged myself, by bond as it were, in this letter. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The scholiasts differ in the name of the person, to whom this epistle is addressed. It is sometimes printed GEMINUS, and sometimes GEMINIUS. They mention an old manuscript, in which the epistle appears written to RESTITUTUS. There is no reason given for these variations, nor any attempt

tempt made towards discovering the family, character, or station of the three persons named. We have only one epistle from PLINY to RESTITUTUS; the seventeenth of the sixth book: nor are there any circumstances in it, by which we may conclude this letter written to the same person. There are no traces, I believe, of GEMINIUS. We find VIRDIUS GEMINUS mentioned by TACITUS^a, as an officer of very great experience in war. He quelled a dangerous insurrection in *Pontus*, raised by ANICETUS^b against VESPASIAN; and by that conquest was one of the chief means, to settle VESPASIAN in the empire. But it is most probable, that this letter is written to DUCENNIUS GEMINUS, who was one of the *consules suffecti* in the fourth year of NERO: At least in all PLINY's epistles to GEMINUS, which are six in number, there is not the least hint, by which we may apprehend him to be an officer.

The *consules suffecti* were such, who came into the place of the consuls originally elected. All deeds were dated by the names of the first consuls; but they were frequently displaced either by resignation, deposition, or death; and the two officers, who were chosen to succeed them, were called *consules suffecti*. Thus on the first of *July*, in the eight hundred and ninth year of *Rome*, DUCENNIUS GEMINUS and POMPEIUS PAULLINUS were appointed consuls, in the place of NERO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR, and L. CALPURNIUS PISO.

^a Historiarum TACITI, lib. 3. cap. 48.

^b He had been a slave, and afterwards a freedman to POLEMON II. the last king of *Pontus*, and taking advantage of the civil wars between VITELLIUS and VESPASIAN, endeavoured by the force of arms, to rescue his country from being a province to *Rome*, and to restore it again to a kingdom.

EPISTLE II.

PLINY to FABIVS JUSTVS.

AT the same time that you tell me you desire to see my writings (the perusal of which the most idle people have found to take up much of their leisure) you likewise affirm, that you are hindered by a

multiplicity of business. How can such contradictions agree? I will therefore let the summer pass: your continual employments, at that season, leave you seldom at rest; and next winter, when it is probable your nights may be free to yourself, I will search, among my trifling performances, for such, as may be most proper for your perusal. In the mean time, it is sufficient, if my letters are not troublesome; but they are, and therefore they shall be short. Adieu.

O B S E R V A T I O N S .

It is difficult to imagine, what were the occupations, which employed FABIUS JUSTUS in the summer season, so as to render his winter nights the scenes of his greater leisure. And it is equally difficult to know, who JUSTUS was. Two letters only are extant to him. The former ^c is written upon as trifling, uninteresting a subject as this epistle.

^c Book 1. ep. xi.

E P I S T L E I I I .

P L I N Y t o P R Æ S E N S .

STILL are you resolved to stay sometimes in *Lucania*, sometimes in *Campania*? You answer me, I was born in *Lucania*, my wife in *Campania*. The reason is allowable for a very long, but not for a perpetual absence. Wherefore then will you not sometimes return to *Rome*? the only place, where you can expect an honourable employment, and friendships of every kind. How long will you reign in the country? Must you always wake, and always sleep at the hours you please? Are you never to be out of an undress? Is your dress for the public to remain useless? Must your whole day be passed in easy freedom? It is high time for you to revisit us amidst our molestations, if there was no other reason, than that only your pleasures

fares might not grow languid by satiety. Come, and pay your court for a little while, that afterwards the court paid to you may be more acceptable. Mingle with our croud, that your solitude may prove to you more delightful. But how imprudently am I acting? I retard the person, whom I would call forward. Perhaps, by these very reasons, you may be induced still more and more to indulge yourself in retirement: A retirement, which I am willing only to interrupt, not utterly to destroy. For, if I were to entertain you at supper, as I should mix the sharper and more tart kinds of food, with such as were of a sweeter taste, that your appetite, if cloyed and damped by the latter, might be whetted again by the former: so now I exhort you, to season with some acids the sweets of your most agreeable situation of life. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

This epistle has beauties in the original, which cannot easily be sustained in a translation. The style is very concise; and perhaps too much studied. Yet the manner of it is delicate, and the compliments are nicely framed and put together.

Quousque regnabis? “Will you, says PLINY to PRÆSENS, reign for ever in the country a mighty lord? superior to all around you, withdrawn from those, who are your equals. Will you never mix with mankind, but still continue to stand at a distance, like some potent monarch, who governs absolutely, and lives without a rival near his throne?”

Quousque vigilabis, cum voles? dormies, quam diu voles? “Must your hours be always your own? Must you wake when you please, and sleep as long as you please? Must you meet with no interruption? Are you to be exempted from business and trouble of every kind?”

Quousque calcei nuscquam? “Will you never put on your shoes?” From this sentence, I imagine PRÆSENS to have been a senator. The Romans had various kinds of shoes, which were so many marks of distinction, for their several

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ranks. The *calcei lunati* were appropriated to senators and persons of eminence, so that PLINY, by this hint, seems to say, "Are you never to come to the senate-house?" There is not the least occasion for the word *lunati* to be introduced in a familiar letter. The *lunati calcei* were so called from the clasps (belonging to the shoes,) that were made in the shape of a half moon. Some authors are of opinion, that this figure resembling a *Roman C*, signified one hundred, intimating the exact number of the original senators. But perhaps the question in general may be only relative to dress, and PLINY may mean no more, than what is frequently said among us, "Are you always to live in a night-gown and "slippers?"

Toga feriata? This interrogatory relates also to dress, and is the same, as if PLINY had said, "Are you never to return "to Rome?" The several kinds of the *Roman toga* ^d were different. The size of the gown was according to the riches of the person, who wore it. The most wealthy *Romans* had gowns of the largest and of the finest sort. In allusion to which, HORACE says,

*Toga quæ defendere frigus,
Quamvis crassa, queat* ^e.

And cloaths, tho' coarse, to keep me from the cold ^f.

As PRÆSENS lived constantly either in *Campania*, or *Lucania*, he had no occasion for any habit of parade. But at *Rome*, no man appeared in public without the *toga*, which was therefore called, *vestis forensis*, a habit fit to appear in, and adapted for the *forum*.

Liber totus dies? or as some scholiasts determine, *liber totos dies*? In each of these readings the words will bear two different interpretations. They refer either to freedom, or books; and may be rendered, "Is your book to employ "your whole day?" or, as seems most conformable to the sense and turn of the epistle, "Is your whole day to be a "scene of uninterrupted liberty?" A quotation from TULLY, where the word *liber* is made use of adjectively,

^d The gown was the mark of distinction of the *Romans* from the *Greeks*, who wore a mantle, and were called *palliatii*; as the *Romans*, from their gowns, were surnamed *togati*.

^e HORAT. lib. 1. ep. 3.

^f FRANCIS.

and where the whole sentence seems agreeable to the tenor of this epistle, may serve as a comment to the passage, *Nam libero tempore cum soluta nobis est eligendi optio, cumque nihil impedit, quo minus id, quod maxime placeat, facere possimus, omnis voluptas assumenda est* ^g: “For at a season of liberty, “when the freedom of choice is left to ourselves, and “when there is no impediment to our acting as we desire, “we are to divert ourselves as pleasurably as we can.”

The excessive love of retirement and ease, which, from this epistle, appears to have been the ruling passion of PRÆSENS, entices our curiosity to enquire into his character. CATANÆUS, in a note upon the name, gives us this information: *Hic BRUTIUS PRÆSENS tantæ auctoritatis postea fuit, ut ANTONINUS PHILOSOPHUS imperator ejus filiam COMMODO filio suo, qui deinceps imperavit, matrimonio junxerit* ^h: “This BRUTIUS PRÆSENS was afterwards of so “great authority, that the emperor ANTONINUS PHILO- “SOPHUS married his son COMMODUS, who succeeded him “in the empire, to the daughter of PRÆSENS.” I apprehend the commentator is mistaken in his assertion. It is improbable in point of time. This epistle must have been written (and we will suppose the latest æra) in the reign of TRAJAN. From the death of TRAJAN to the death of MARCUS AURELIUS, surnamed ANTONINUS PHILOSOPHUS ⁱ, is a space of about sixty four years ^k. How young therefore must PRÆSENS have been at the time, when this letter was addressed to him? Certainly too young to have renounced the pleasures of *Rome*, for the tranquillity of *Lucania*, or *Campania*. COMMODUS, the eighteenth emperor of *Rome*, was the son of MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS PHILOSOPHUS, by the famous empress FAUSTINA. He was married about a year before his father died. His wife’s name was CRISPINA; but I dare affirm she was not the daughter of PRÆSENS, to whom this letter is addressed. She might be the daughter of BRUTIUS PRÆSENS, who

^g TULLI de fin. i. cap. 10.

^h Editio LONGOLII. p. 481.

ⁱ MARCUS AURELIUS assumed the name of ANTONINUS, from his father-in law and adopter, ANTONINUS PIUS. He was an eminent Stoic philosopher, he was distinguished by the surname of PHILOSOPHUS.

^k ADRIAN reigned near twenty two years. ANTONINUS PIUS reigned near twenty three years. M. ANTONINUS PHILOSOPHUS reigned nineteen years.

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was consul at the time, when ANTONINUS PHILOSOPHUS died. However, Mr. ECHARD tells ¹ us, I know not from what authority, that BENTIUS VALENS, a man of consular dignity, was father of CRISPINA. It is the height of improbability to imagine, that PLINY was corresponding in the reign of TRAJAN, with a person, who, in the reign of COMMODUS, enjoyed the consulship; or who, when young, lived by choice in privacy, and retirement, and, when old, chose an employment of the greatest dignity, and trouble. The commentators ought to be more careful and exact in notes, that tend to settle historical facts, and to satisfy some degree of curiosity. PRÆSENS, the friend of our author, might possibly be the grandfather of CRISPINA; but her father, or at least her mother, must have been too young to be mentioned by PLINY, even in the latest part of his life. COMMODUS was scarce eighteen years old, when he was married: his wife most assuredly bore some degree of proportion to her husband's age. DION informs us, she was put to death by her husband COMMODUS, after having been banished for adultery, to the island of *Caprea*. COMMODUS himself was guilty of every vice, that can be named.

¹ ECHARD's Roman History, Vol. 2. p. 336.

EPISTLE IV.

PLINY to PONTIUS.

YOU say you have read my verses: and you require from me an account of what first induced me to write verses; who am, as I appear to you, a man of a grave disposition, and who am, as I confess myself, far from an idler.

I was never averse (for I will begin at my earliest scenes of life) to poetry: at fourteen years old I wrote a Greek tragedy. You ask, what kind of a tragedy? I know not; only it was called a tragedy. Returning from the army soon afterwards, I was detained by contrary winds in the island of *Icaria*; there I composed Latin elegies, upon the island itself, and the
sea

sea that furrounds it. I have sometimes tried heroic verse: the present is my first attempt in hendecasyllables: they took rise from this incident; the books of ASINIUS GALLUS, wherein he draws a parallel between his father and CICERO, were read to me at *Laurentinum*: the epigram of CICERO, upon his favourite TYRO, happened to be part of the entertainment. Afterwards, in the middle of the day (for it was then summer) I attempted to sleep, but in vain. A reflexion occurred to me, that the greatest orators had not only made poetry their delight, but one of their most laudable pursuits. Immediately I applied my thoughts to this study, and, in much less time than I imagined, after so long a disuse of poetry, I writ these verses, upon the subject, with which I was amusing myself.

The partial works of GALLUS while I view,
 Who gives his fire the palm to TULLY due,
 I find ev'n TULLY, great and high in name,
 Steps into trifles, from the road of fame.
 The men of wit, of eloquence, and fire,
 Direct their pens as love's wild thoughts inspire.
 For TYRO TULLY sighs; for TYRO burns;
 TYRO the warm affection ill returns.
 Why should not I my latent passions own,
 And boldly make my love of TYRO known?
 Yes, I will boast in TULLY's tuneful strain;
 Alike our objects, and alike our pain.

I passed on to elegy, which I composed with no less expedition. Drawn in, by the aptness of my genius, I still added to my compositions: then returning to *Rome*, I read them to some of my acquaintance, who gave me their approbation. Afterwards, whenever I had leisure, especially upon a journey, I continued my poetry. At last, as I had many examples before me, I determined (nor have I had cause
 to

to repent the resolution) to publish one separate volume of this kind of poems. They are read, copied, and set to music; the Grecians, who have been induced to learn the Latin language from their relish of these performances, have adapted them to the harp and lyre. But you will ask, why am I so vain? This is a licence allowed to poets: however I have only quoted the sentiments of others; I speak not my own. Those sentiments, whether true or erroneous, certainly please me.

I heartily wish, that posterity may form the same judgement. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

Too ambitious an imitation of CICERO has betrayed PLINY into inexcusable errors. CICERO, not content with being the first orator in the world, by his own conduct stands in the last class of poets; and is accompanied there by PLINY, who tells us, in this epistle, that his first essay in elegiac poetry was upon the island and sea of *Icaria*^a.

C. ASINIUS GALLUS was the son of C. ASINIUS POLLIO, who is so finely, and so often celebrated by HORACE and VIRGIL. POLLIO is said to have held the eloquence of TULLY in no degree of esteem. The judgement of POLLIO was undoubtedly wrong in this particular. But the judgement of GALLUS might be perfectly right, in preferring the verses of his father to the poetry of CICERO. ASINIUS GALLUS was starved to death by the emperor TIBERIUS, whom he had servilely flattered, and injudiciously provoked^b.

Quinetiam quatuordecim natus annos Græcam tragœdiam scripsi: "I was only fourteen years old, when I composed "a Greek tragedy." At what time, or by whom, that great branch of dramatic poetry, called tragedy^c, was invented, is not perfectly ascertained. According to SCALI-

^a This small island in the *Archipelago* belongs to *Asiatic Turkey*, it lies west of *Samos*. The modern name is *Nicaria*.

^b Vide TACITI Annales.

^c Derivatur a *τράγος*, hircus, a goat, which was the proper sacrifice to BACCHUS; in whose honour this sort of play was represented.

GER's information, *Ad THESEI sepulchrum certasse tragicos legimus. Non tamen quod tradunt tragœdiam comœdia vetustiore*^d: "We read, that at THESEUS's burying place, the tragedians contended in their recitals: not that the tradition is true, that tragedy is older than comedy." The same author says, *Quis eam primus dederit, haud ita pro comperto habetur: satis constat illud, a THESPI poetâ factam nitidiorem*^e: "Who first invented it, is a fact not so well ascertained: It is evident enough, that it was cultivated and improved by the poet THESPI." All authors agree, according to Mr. RYMER^f, that tragedy, in the beginning, was a religious worship. The various critics, who have written very copiously upon this subject, have still left us undetermined, as to the absolute original of the drama. The Grecian tragedies, that remain to us, appear very different from those, which are acceptable to our later ages. They rather seem framed to strike horror, and inspire fear, than to advance the instruction, benefit, and delight of mankind. The definition of tragedy, by SCALIGER, runs thus; *Imitatio per actiones illustris fortunæ, exitu infelici, oratione gravi metricâ*: "The imitation of actions in high life, the catastrophe of which is unhappy, and the language of the characters supported in solemn measure." It is from this definition perhaps, that our modern writers of tragedy have run into pompous nonsense, and every kind of ridiculous bombast. They imagine themselves absolutely obliged to represent kings and princes upon the stage; and they infer, that such exalted beings ought not to talk like ordinary men. Thus by endeavouring to make their heroes think and speak above the common level of their own species; the royal conversation is composed of rants, that contain neither sense, meaning, nor amusement. And as the words are strictly pinioned within the bounds of a certain measure, the sentiments of the most powerful monarch in the world appear only like madness, confined in the limits of a cage. I am not certain that princes speak, or think better than other men. But allowing the supposition to be true, I believe the writers of tragedy have seldom opportunities of knowing their manners, or characters sufficiently, to draw either the one or the other in any degree of perfection. If a Greek tra-

^d SCALIG. Poetic. lib. 1. cap. 5.

^e Idem, cap. 6.

^f See RYMER's Short view of tragedy.

gedy,

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gedy, in the days of PLINY, was such a composition, as to be easily modelled by a youth of fourteen years old, the loss of such a piece is not in the least to be regretted : And it is to be wished, that this epistle had perished at the same time.

EPISTLE V.

PLINY to CALPURNIA.

THE eagerness of my desire to see you is incredible. Love is the first spring of it. The next arises from our having been so seldom separated. For these reasons, I pass a great part of the night in thinking of you. In the day too, at those hours, when I used to see you, my feet carry me spontaneously, in the strictest sense of the expression, to your apartment, from whence I constantly return as much out of humour, and dejected, as if I had been refused admittance into your chamber. There is one part of the day only, that affords relief to my misery ; I mean the particular time, when I am employed in pleading causes for my friends. Judge what a kind of life mine must be, when labour is my rest, and when perplexity and cares are my comfort. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

In this epistle appears not only the excessive fondness of PLINY to CALPURNIA, but the regularity and exactness of his domestic life. Certain hours in every day, *quibus horis te visere solebam*, " hours in which he was accustomed to " visit CALPURNIA," were exempted from public business, and dedicated to the conversation of CALPURNIA in her apartment. The epistle gives a captivating idea of the married state. Every line glows with the warmth of conjugal love. Amidst all the stores of antiquity, and of epistolary writings, the delicacy, tenderness, and elegance of this letter, must shine in a very high degree. There are ex-

tant

tant several epistles § from TULLY to TERENCE. They are of a different nature in general from these of PLINY. If they contain equal tenderness, I am afraid they are written with much less sincerity. But they end sometimes in a very pathetic manner. *Valete, mea desideria, valete*^h: “Adieu, my dearest love, adieu.” And again, *Mea TERENCE, fidiſſima atque optima uxor, et mea cariſſima filiola, et ſpes reliqua noſtra*, CICERO, *valete*ⁱ: My TERENCE, thou “beſt and moſt conſtant wife, and you my lovely little daughter, and you, CICERO, who art the third object of my hopes, all, all farewell.” Some of theſe letters, which are written in the plaintive ſtyle, diſcover great impatience, and want of fortitude. One of them, from a ſeeming admiration of TERENCE’s piety, taxes heaven itſelf with ingratitude: *Ego vero te quàm primùm, mea vita, cupio videre, et in tuo complexu emori; quum neque dii, quos tu caſtiſſimè coluiſti, neque homines, quibus ego ſervivi, nobis gratiam retulerunt*^k: “But I wiſh to ſee you, my deareſt life, as ſoon as poſſible, and to die in your arms: ſince neither thoſe Gods, whom you have religiously worſhipped, nor thoſe men, whom I have faithfully ſerved, have made us the leaſt return.” How did this wiſh of dying in TERENCE’s boſom end? In a divorce: after a marriage of thirty years, after a thorough confirmation of TERENCE’s virtue, and after repeated acknowledgments of her conduct and fidelity. Is not the character of PLINY therefore more amiable, although leſs exalted, than the character of TULLY?

§ Ad Familiares, lib. XIV.

^h Ep. 2.ⁱ Ep. 4.^k Ibid.

E P I S T L E VI.

PLINY to MACRINUS.

AN uncommon and very remarkable affair has happened to VARENUS: as yet indeed it remains doubtful. The *Biſynians* are ſaid to have quitted their accuſation againſt him, as a matter raſhly entered into. I ſay, this is what is given out. The legate of the province appears; bringing with him,
to

to CÆSAR, a decree of their council. He brought with him the same decree to many of our chief men here: he even brought it to us, the advocates for VARENUS. Nevertheless that same MAGNUS still persists, and is also incessantly teasing NIGRINUS¹, one of the best of men: by whom he required from the consuls, that VARENUS should be obliged to give in his reasons. At that time I assisted VARENUS, only as his friend, and was determined not to plead for him; for nothing was so absurd, as that I, who was appointed advocate by the senate, should endeavour to defend a person, as accused, who was to shew, that he had not been accused at all. But when NIGRINUS had finished his demand, the consuls fixed their eyes upon me. I said; "You will know, that
 " I have reasons for my silence, when you shall have
 " heard what the true legates of the province have
 " to offer against NIGRINUS, to whom they were
 " sent. For I have, among others, the decree of
 " the province in my hands." To which NIGRINUS replied, "It may appear so to you." I answered, "If you think otherwise, give me leave however to
 " judge what is most favourable for my cause." Then the legate POLYÆNUS explained the reasons of releasing the accusation, and demanded, that the senate should not prejudge the matter till it came before CÆSAR. MAGNUS answered; and POLYÆNUS replied: but he spoke seldom, and short. I scarce broke my silence; for I have laid it down as a rule, that sometimes it is as much the business of an orator to be silent, as to speak: and therefore I again repeat it, that I have been of greater service to some persons, accused of capital crimes, by my silence, than I could have been by the most accurate oration.

A mother having lost her son (for why should not I talk of my labours, although the motive of writing this letter was another subject?) accused his freedmen,

¹ NIGRINUS, tribune of the people. See book 5. ep. 14.

who

who were also his coheirs, of poisoning their master, and forging his will. She brought the cause before the emperor, and obtained JULIUS SERVIANUS for the judge. I defended the accused in a very great assembly: for the cause was become very notorious: And farther, there were, on both sides, persons of the greatest capacities. The slaves were tortured; which decided the cause, and the answers were in favour of the accused. The mother afterwards addressed the emperor, and affirmed she had found new proofs. SERVIANUS was commanded to rehear the cause, although already determined, if she brought new matter. JULIUS AFRICANUS, grandson of JULIUS the orator, was advocate for the mother, and when he was heard out, PASSIENUS CRISPUS said, "Truly you have spoken well; but to what purpose is this fine speech?" JULIUS is an ingenious young man, but not very artful. When he had spoken a great deal, and had filled up the time allotted him, he said, "I beg you, SERVIANUS, to suffer me to add one word." Then I, when all had looked upon me as ready to answer a long time, said, "I would have answered, if AFRICANUS had added that one word, which, I doubt not, would have contained all that was new." I cannot recollect, that I ever gained so great applause by pleading, as I then gained by not pleading.

In the same manner now, my silence for VARENUS was accepted of, and approved. The consuls, as POLYÆNUS desired, left all things entirely to the decision of the emperor, whose determination I wait for in suspense; because that day must give me, in respect of VARENUS, either certainty and leisure, or must impress upon me fresh labour, by renewing my solicitude for my friend. Farewell.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

The affair related by PLINY in this epistle is introduced to his friend MACRINUS, as a very unusual and remarkable transaction. The *Bithynians* were supposed to have dropped the prosecution of their complaint against VARENUS, and to that purpose had sent the legate of their province to acquaint the emperor, the ministers of state, [*principes viros*] and the advocates of VARENUS, with their resolution. Notwithstanding this solemn act of the *Bithynians*, MAGNUS, (or MAGIUS, the editors differ in his name) who had been the first, and most violent prosecutor of VARENUS, still persisted in carrying on the cause to a final determination. NIGRINUS, by the perpetual and teasing application of MAGNUS, was prevailed upon to demand of the consuls, *Ut VARENUS exhibere actiones cogeretur*: "That VARENUS should shew cause, why the prosecution should not be carried on." The chief question therefore seems to be, whether the *Bithynians* had so deserted their accusation, that VARENUS could not be prosecuted upon the motion renewed by MAGNUS; or whether, notwithstanding their late resolution, they were still at liberty to pursue their former suit.

New trials must be attended with very pernicious consequences, not only in capital, but in all cases. No innocent man can be safe, where such a custom is introduced. The practice is not agreeable to the laws of England. If it ever found place among the Romans it could only have prevailed under the tyranny of those emperors, who trampled upon law and justice, and all civil rights. But it appears, that this particular debate arose during the reign of TRAJAN^m, who certainly would not allow such iniquitous precedents to be established.

Tum legatus POLYÆNUS causas abolitæ accusationis exposuit, postulavitque, ne cognitioni CÆSARIS præjudicium fieret. The meaning of this sentence may be thus explained: "POLYÆNUS, the legate of the *Bithynians*, informed the

^m The accusation of VARENUS was subsequent to the trial of JULIUS BASSUS, who, by the 9th epistle of the 4th book, appears to have been tried at the latter end of NERVA's reign, or early in the reign of TRAJAN. See the 20th epistle of the 5th book.

“ senate of the reasons, which induced the *Bithynians* to re-
 “ cede from their accusation, and he desired, that they
 “ would not interfere in the case, the cognizance of which
 “ ought to be left entirely to CÆSAR.” The Romans had
 in use amongst them a judgement, which was called *præju-*
dicium; not in an ill sense, as *prejudice* is understood by us;
 but because this kind of judgement was subject to the con-
 trol of another jurisdiction, which was final. The *præju-*
dicium was so called, as being the first, or prior judgement
 in point of time. The other was called *judicium*, as it was
 absolutely final.

Consules, ut POLYÆNUS postulabat, omnia integra principi
servaverunt, cujus cognitionem suspensus expecto: “ The con-
 “ suls, as POLYÆNUS required, reserved all the chief points
 “ for the examination of the emperor: and I am now wait-
 “ ing under suspense for his determination.” From hence it
 appears, that the senate respited judgement in the cause till
 the return of the emperor, who was then in Dacia. This
 epistle may be fixed therefore to the fourth year of TRAJAN’s
 reign. The tenth epistle of this book is a continuation of
 the same subject.

E P I S T L E VII.

PLINY to POMPEIUS SATURNINUS.

Y Esterday I presented your thanks to our friend
 PRISCUS; and I have just now repeated them,
 because such were your commands; each time most
 willingly. It is a very agreeable circumstance to me,
 that two such excellent men, both my particular
 friends, should be so happily united, as to think your-
 selves reciprocally obliged to each other; for he not
 only owns the great pleasure he receives from your
 friendship, but, in the kindest manner, vies with you
 in instances of mutual affection. Time will augment
 this alliance.

I am sorry to find you so wholly taken up in busi-
 ness, that you cannot attend your studies. But if, as
 you say, you shall finish one of your causes by a

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speedy

speedy trial, and the other by a composition, you will begin to enjoy a little leisure; with which, when you are fatiated, you will return to us. Adieu.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

This short and amicable address to SATURNINUS ought not to have preceded, but to have followed the epistle, which is immediately subsequent to it. PLINY here tells SATURNINUS, that he has a second time obeyed his commands. *Et proximè PRISCO nostro, et rursus quia ita jussisti, gratias egi*: “Yesterday I delivered your thanks to PRISCUS, and “again to-day I have repeated them.” This seventh letter is plainly in consequence of the eighth, and therefore should not have been placed before it.

E P I S T L E VIII.

P L I N Y to N E R A T I U S P R I S C U S.

MY pleasure is inexpressible, in finding our friend SATURNINUS writing to me letter after letter, to return you his best thanks. Go on as you have begun, and esteem so excellent a man without the least reserve. You will find great happiness in his friendship, which will certainly be durable; for the constancy of his affection is particularly conspicuous, among the many other virtues, with which he abounds. Adieu.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

Five letters are extant from PLINY to PRISCUS. They are widely scattered from each other. The three, which precede this epistle, are the thirteenth epistle of the second book, the twenty first of the third book, and the eighth of the sixth book: the nineteenth epistle of this book is also addressed to PRISCUS. In all five are evident marks of most unaffected confidence; arising from this reason given by PLINY, *Et tu occasiones obligandi me avidissimè amplecteris; et*
ego

ego nemini libentius debeo^a: “ You are always desirous to oblige me; I am always desirous to be obliged by you.”

NERATIUS PRISCUS, to whom this epistle is addressed, was the greatest civilian of his time. He was in so high favour with TRAJAN, and his courtiers, that they looked upon him as worthy of succession to the empire. If PLINY had outlived his imperial master, such a succession might probably have taken place. ADRIAN, although nearly related to TRAJAN, had not gained the emperor's affection. He was adopted by PLOTINA, when perhaps her dying husband, whose illness favoured her artifice, would have preferred NERATIUS PRISCUS as his successor.

^a Vide epist. 13. lib. 2.

E P I S T L E IX.

PLINY to CORNELIUS FUSCUS.

YOU wish to know from me, in what method you ought to pursue your studies, while you remain, as you have long been, retired in the country. The most useful method, and, as many think, the most preferable, is translation either from Greek into Latin, or from Latin into Greek. By this kind of exercise are to be acquired the propriety and beauty of expression, the extent of figures, the power of explanation, besides a facility of imitating the best authors, so as to fall into the same turn of thought. Those circumstances, which may not strike a reader, cannot possibly escape a translator. Knowledge and judgement are both acquired by translation. As soon as you have read a book, by way of emulation, you may undertake the same argument, and subject matter; comparing and carefully weighing your own performance with the book, which you have read: from hence you will find out in each the several superiorities. It will be great honour to you, if sometimes the advantage appears on your side: It will be

great shame, if you are always inferior. It may be proper for you now and then, both to chuse out the most distinguished parts, and to vye with those particular passages when chosen; such a contest is rather bold than rash, because it is secret. Although, in this sort of race, I have seen many persons acquire great applause, by out-running such authors, whom they thought it would have been sufficient honour to have followed.

After your work has lain by long enough to be out of your memory, you should review the whole; should retain many things, throw away more; interline some, write others over again. This is an irksome and laborious task, but the difficulty is productive of good consequences; as by it you grow warm afresh, and resume a strength, which had been broken, and was become languid. Lastly, you add, as it were, new limbs to a body already well constituted, without molesting those of the original formation.

I know your principal study at present is oratory; but I am far from persuading you to be perpetually pursuing that controversial, and, if I may say so, that warlike style: for, as our lands are sowed with variety of seeds, and those seeds are often changed; so our minds must be employed, sometimes in one, then in another kind of application. I am desirous, that you should comment upon remarkable points of history: I am desirous, that you should be particularly careful in writing letters. I am desirous, that you should make verses; because, in speeches, an absolute necessity often happens for description, not only in an historical, but in a poetical manner. A closer and more delicate vein is adapted to epistles. You should sometimes refresh yourself with poetry. I do not say, that such an exercise should be constant, or that your poems should be long, (those circumstances can only be the effect of leisure) but rather witty, and short, fit interludes between all kinds of care and business. Such
poems

poems are called amusements ; but they often produce as great a share of reputation, as more serious performances. And therefore, why should I not tempt you to versification, by verses themselves ?

I.

When yielding wax, with pressure warm,
The artist's hand receives,
Each new creation takes its form,
And every figure lives :

II.

MARS seems to knit his warlike brow ;
MINERVA seems to move ;
Here, CUPID bends his magic bow ;
There, smiles the queen of love.

III.

As bursting flames are taught to know
The force of water's power ;
As currents, when through meads they flow,
Refresh each field and flower.

IV.

So shall the mind, by art imprest,
Like wax, new forms impart,
Or stand like torrent's force confest,
Or flow from art to art.

In this manner the greatest orators, and even the greatest men, have exercised or amused themselves. Indeed it is wonderful, how much the mind is displayed, and delighted by those trifling performances. For they admit of love, hatred, anger, pity, mirth, in a word, all circumstances that pass in life ; even the

business in the *forum*, and the causes at the bar. In such sort of verses we find also the same usefulness, as in all other poetry: we take pleasure in the freedom of a prose oration, as soon as we are loosed from the chains of metre. Comparison shews us, which is the easiest, and there we write with the greater willingness. I have now sent you more particulars than you desired; but there is still one point, which I have omitted. I have not told you what books you ought to read, although perhaps I expressed my meaning, by telling you what you ought to write. You will remember to chuse the best authors of every kind. The saying runs, *We should read much, not many books*. Who those authors are, is a point too well known, and too universally proved, to need any particular description: And besides, I have stretched out my letter so immoderately, that while I am persuading you in what manner to study, I am breaking in upon your time of studying. However, resume your table-books, and either write upon the subjects, which I have mentioned, or continue the particular work you had begun. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

If PLINY had not interrupted his precepts by a very indifferent copy of verses, this letter had contained a series of as many excellent maxims, as, within the confines of an epistle, could have been written upon the subject. The usefulness of translation is evident, from the reasons here given: the difficulty of it is scarce touched upon by PLINY. He had no inclination to terrify his friend CORNELIUS FUSCUS, by exposing fully, the labours he wished him to undergo. They are very great: and after all the pains and time, that can be bestowed upon performances of this kind, their value is not estimable perhaps in the degree it deserves. They are looked upon as works of amusement, rather than of reputation. It is certain they are adapted more to the illiterate, than to the learned. Yet, to the translator himself they are works of incomparable benefit; for, as PLINY justly observes, *Quæ legentem*

legentem fefellissent, transferentem fugere non possint: “ We can never attain to so thorough a knowledge of a book by reading, as by translating it.” The task indeed is tedious, unless the author be extremely delightful. The French, in general, have succeeded better in translations, than the English; especially in prose: A success, which has been owing to the great encouragement given in France to literature, and the particular veneration, in which this branch of learning is esteemed. Our prejudices against translation are rather too violent. No other kind of writing could so soon fix the standard of our language; or so effectually conquer the many little errors, that corrupt our dialect. In style, the same observation will hold, as in vice, *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus*: “ We lose correctness and propriety by degrees.” Our devotion is implicit to the language of the ancients, without a sufficient regard to our native tongue. We think it greater honour to understand a Latin author, than to write an English book. False Latin is unpardonable; false English is fashionable. To give reasons for this partiality would lead me into too wide a field; but indeed, my CHARLES, to read the dead languages easily, and to write and speak the English language perfectly, would be, if I could set limits to my wishes for you, the boundaries I should point out to your character as a scholar.

This epistle, by the last sentence, *Vel istud ipsum, quod cæperas scribis*, “ Go on in the work, which you have undertaken,” is an answer to a letter from FUSCUS, in which he had mentioned some particular work, that he had undertaken in his retirement. He had withdrawn himself from Rome, that he might pursue his studies without interruption. *Scio nunc tibi esse præcipuum studium orandi*: “ I know, says PLINY, you are now in a close pursuit of such kind of study, as may prepare you for the bar.” We shall find two more epistles to FUSCUS, the thirty sixth, and the fortieth of the ninth book. The person, to whom all the three epistles are addressed, is probably CORNELIUS FUSCUS SALINATOR, whom our author always mentions with the highest admiration and esteem^b. If PLINY’s epistles were to be placed in a proper state of connexion, this letter ought immediately to precede the eleventh epistle of the

^b See ep. 11th, and ep. 26th, of book the 6th, and ep. 25th of book the 10th.

sixth book. In this letter Fuscus is studying the art of eloquence; in that epistle he appears to have attained it.

EPISTLE X.

PLINY to MACRINUS.

AS I am always impatient to know the conclusion of an affair, when the narrative has been interrupted in the beginning; I must imagine you desirous of hearing the event concerning VARENUS, and the Bithynians. POLYÆNUS pleaded for VARENUS, and MAGNUS for the Bithynians. When the speeches were finished, *Neither party, says CÆSAR, shall complain of delay. I will take care to be informed of the sentiments of the province.* In the mean time VARENUS has been a great gainer. For how doubtful must it be, whether he was justly accused, since it is uncertain, whether he was accused or not? What remains is to know, if the provincials are now pleased to prosecute the point, which, it is said, they condemned; or if they repent of their former repentance. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

This letter contains as final a conclusion of the affair relating to VARENUS, as we can learn from any of PLINY's epistles. We here see the consequence of the senatorial decree, mentioned in the sixth epistle of this book. The cause, we find, came before the emperor for his determination. The single point in question was, whether the Bithynians had, or had not deserted their original accusation? The advocates, who pleaded in presence of the emperor, were MAGNUS and POLYÆNUS. The former had originally accused VARENUS, and still persisted in that accusation. The latter, from the authority vested in him by the Bithynians, as their legate, required, that the prosecution should be annulled. It may easily be presumed, that they were both in earnest, each endeavouring to support the power, which
he

he had assumed : and indeed, if POLYÆNUS had a just and legal appointment to waive the prosecution, his last commission must have superseded the former commission granted to MAGNUS. But the emperor seems to doubt of this fact ; and therefore wisely chuses to give no credit to the assertions of POLYÆNUS and MAGNUS, but to inform himself, by his own messengers, of the real designs of the Bithynians. *Erit mihi curæ, CÆSAR inquit, explorare provinciæ voluntatem :* “ It shall be my part, says CÆSAR, to inform myself “ fully of the real inclination of the provincials.” TRA-
JAN might naturally suspect, that the commencement of the prosecution took rise in the hatred and malice of a party formed against VARENUS : or, on the other hand, that the last directions to POLYÆNUS for quitting the prosecution might be obtained by partiality, from an opposite party, desirous of favouring VARENUS, without the least view to justice. The emperor’s determination is much to his honour, as it shews his judgement exquisite, and his disposition equitable.

We have passed through five different epistles, which treat of this affair. But we find no account in any of them, of the particular crimes, for which VARENUS was prosecuted. The senate seems employed, rather in regulating the forms of proceeding, than in entering into the merits of the cause.

In the twentieth epistle of the fifth book, *Bithyni inducti in senatum inquisitionem postulaverunt : tum VARENUS petit, ut sibi quoque defensionis causa evocare testes liceret ; recusantibus Bithynis, cognitio suscepta est :* “ The Bithynians desired “ time to produce their witnesses : VARENUS desires the “ same indulgence to himself : the Bithynians oppose his “ motion ; a debate ensues ; the advocates on both sides “ argue the point.” The next day CORNELIUS PRISCUS, formerly consul, declares himself of opinion, that the request of each party ought to be granted, and his sentiments prevail. The observation of PLINY, upon this resolution of the senate is remarkable. He was one of the advocates for VARENUS^c, and he says, *Impetravimus rem, nec lege comprehensam, nec satis usitatam, justam tamen.* The literal translation of this sentence has been given already. The full meaning of it seems to be, “ The concession was granted

^c See epistle 20th, book 6th.

“ to

“ to us ; but still it is a matter, in which the law has not
 “ been sufficiently explicit ; nor have instances of this kind
 “ been often enough put into practice. They are undoubt-
 “ edly just.” The justice indeed of such a proceeding is very
 visible ; for it would be in vain to give a man the liberty of
 defending himself, and yet to deny him the means of proving
 his defence.

In the fifth epistle of the sixth book, LICINIUS NEPOS, a
 senator, in an abrupt and improper manner, endeavours to
 draw the late determination into debate. His speech occa-
 sions great heat : much animosity appears between NEPOS and
 the prætor JUBENTIUS CELSUS ; but from hence no con-
 clusion is formed.

In the thirteenth epistle of the sixth book, the Bithynians
 appeal from the judgement of the senate to the emperor.
Ab illo ad senatum remissi, “ the emperor sends them back to
 “ the senate,” who still adhere, ACILIUS RUFUS, and se-
 ven or eight senators excepted, to their former opinion, in
 favour of VARENUS.

In the sixth epistle of this book the Bithynians, either
 tired, or ashamed of the prosecution, send POLYÆNUS their
 legate to discontinue the cause. *Perstat tamen idem ille* MA-
 GNUS. Nevertheless FONTEIUS MAGNUS, the chief prose-
 cutor of VARENUS, opposes the discontinuance, and prevails
 upon NIGRINUS, [*optimum virum*] a good natured man,
 to demand from the consuls, that VARENUS should give
 reasons, why his prosecution should not be carried on. The
 dispute is referred to the emperor.

In the present epistle the emperor declares, upon hearing
 the arguments of MAGNUS and POLYÆNUS, that he will
 know the true intentions of the Bithynians from themselves.
 As no farther notice is taken of this cause, we may pre-
 sume, that VARENUS received no more trouble, either
 from MAGNUS, or the Bithynians.

The several epistles relating to VARENUS, ought to have
 been placed together, and to have succeeded immediately to
 the ninth epistle of the fourth book, relating to JULIUS
 BASSUS.

E P I S T L E XI.

PLINY to FABATUS, *his wife's grandfather.*

YOU are surprized, that my freedman HERMES has sold to CORELLIA, for seven hundred thousand sesterces^a, the five twelfths of my lands of inheritance, which I ordered to be exposed to sale: and that he should take such a step, without waiting for the time of public auction. You add, that they might have been sold for nine hundred thousand sesterces^c. And you are therefore the more inquisitive to know, whether I would ratify the agreement. Most assuredly I confirm it. Hearken to my reason; because I am not only desirous of your approbation, but also wish to stand excused to my coheirs, as having acted separately from them in this affair. My inducement has been a superior duty. I hold CORELLIA in the highest degree of affection and respect; first, as the sister of CORELLIUS RUFUS, whose memory is sacred to me: Then again, as the intimate friend of my mother. The strictest union between me and her husband MINUTIUS JUSTUS, a man of a most excellent disposition, has subsisted for many years past. My friendship to her son has been no less; for which reason, I appointed him to preside over the games, which I exhibited as prætor. When I was with her lately, she expressed a desire to have some place upon the borders of our Larian lake. I offered her, at her own price, any part of my farms, which she pleased to chuse, except such, as had belonged to my father and mother; for those I cannot part with even to CORELLIA. As soon therefore as an inheritance fell to me, in which were the fields you mention, I wrote to let her know they were to be sold. HERMES carried my letter; and in obedience to her commands, immediately conveyed to her my proportion. You

^a Equal to 5651 l. 00 s. 10 d. ^c Equal to 7265 l. 12 s. 6 d.

see how strongly I am obliged to ratify an act, in which my freedman has followed my own sentiments. It remains, that my coheirs should not be displeased, that I sold, without their concurrence, an estate, of which the right of disposal was entirely mine. They are not bound to follow my example; for they have not the same ties of duty towards CORELLIA. They may therefore pursue their own advantage. I have preferred my friendship to my interest. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This epistle is manifestly in answer to a letter received from FABATUS, in which he had expressed a surprize, not perhaps without some degree of anger, that certain lands belonging to PLINY had been sold by HERMES at an under rate. The manner, in which PLINY justifies his freedman, and expresses his regard for CORELLIA, shews the sentiments of his heart to have been far superior to any private advantage. His generosity appears in so many various lights throughout his epistles, that not a line more need be added upon that subject. His general motto was the concluding sentence to FABATUS, *Pro utilitate mihi fuit amicitia*: "Friendship in my mind, seems preferable to interest."

It is plain from this epistle, that the land was left among coheirs, and by the words, *pro meo quincunce*, that five twelfths of the *as*, the whole inheritance, were left to PLINY, who appears as solicitous to excuse himself to his coheirs, as to satisfy FABATUS: it is more than possible, that they differed from him entirely in their manner of acting.

EPISTLE XII.

PLINY to MINICIUS.

THE little book is composed by me, as you desired; that your friend, or rather our friend, (for what is not common between us?) if his affairs so require, may make use of it. I have designedly sent

sent it late, that you may not have time for emendation, or, in other words, for destruction. I know not whether you will find many particulars to amend: your devastations will certainly be great, according to the method pursued by all evil critics^f, such as you, of retrenching the best passages. But if you act this part, I shall esteem it a benefit; for I shall afterwards, upon some occasion or other, make use of those identical passages, as my own property; and I shall owe my applauses to your squeamishness. Such will be the fate of the notes in the margin, and the sentences interlined differently from the rest. For, as I suspected, that you might imagine a performance too pompous, if it sounded high, and was sublime; I thought it not improper, in hopes of lessening your uneasiness, to make some additions in a closer and more humble, or rather in a worse and more lowly strain; which, I am certain, will be much more acceptable to your judgement. Why should not I in this manner arraign, and persecute the poverty of your genius?

Thus far, to make you laugh amidst your grave employments. Now one serious word. Take care to repay me the expence, which I have been at, in sending a special messenger with this work. From this circumstance, you will most certainly, as soon as you have read the book, not only condemn part, but the whole performance: and you will not even allow it to be of the least value, when you are to pay for the value of it. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

There is no manner of writing, that less becomes PLINY. or is less adapted to his genius, than the jocular ironical style, which he sometimes, not often indeed, assumes. This letter, from the beginning to the end, is in that dialect, and is, besides, written in so dark a manner, and upon so trifling

^f Κακόζηλοι, mali et infelices amulatores.

a sub-

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a subject, that we are neither able, nor desirous to unravel the mystery. But if we can suppose the raillery properly applied, yet the zest of it is entirely lost to the present age, since we can neither guess at the contents of the packet, sent by a special messenger to MINICIUS; nor can we tell any particulars of MINICIUS himself. This is the only epistle extant to him; and, if this letter had been entirely lost, not the least grain of PLINY's high reputation, as a writer, would have perished with it.

EPISTLE XIII.

PLINY to JULIUS FEROX.

YOUR letter is at once an assurance of your studying, and not studying. I write, you find, enigmatically: True; till I explain my sentiments more distinctly.

Your letter denies, that you study; but at the same time is so polite, that it can only be the effect of literature. You must otherwise be superior to all mankind, if such productions were the fruits of idleness, and ease. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

The few lines addressed to FEROX[§] might be a standard for epistolary politeness. Their chief beauty consists in the easy conciseness of the compliment; which is so very delicate, and yet so very natural, that to have said more, would have been impossible, and to have said less, would have been improper. I confess I own myself not only surprized, but disappointed, when I find PLINY erring from this elegance, and running into an enigmatical vein of affectation, that, like all other riddles, is scarce worth the labour of exposition. The epistle preceding this to FEROX was entirely in that style. Such a variety of conduct confirms the truth

[§] PLINY mentions JULIUS FEROX to TRAJAN, as a person of great distinction, in the 25th epistle of the 10th book. There is only this epistle extant to him.

of a very old observation, That a man differs more from himself, than from all the rest of mankind.

E P I S T L E XIV.

PLINY *to* CORELLIA HISPULLA.

YOU act indeed most honourably in desiring, and earnestly pressing me, to accept your payment for the fields, not at the rate of seven hundred thousand sesterces, for which you agreed with my freedman, but at the rate of nine hundred thousand sesterces^h, according to the purchase you made, of the twentieth part, from the farmers of the revenueⁱ. In my turn I must desire, and earnestly press you, to consider, not only the part, which you are to act, but the part also, which I am to sustain. Permit me, upon this single occasion, to refuse your request, from the same disposition of mind, which has ever induced me, in all other instances, to obey you. Adieu.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

The turn of this epistle is elegant; the generosity of it admirable; and the language, in the original, particularly polite. It is most improperly separated from the eleventh epistle of this book, by which we find, FABATUS had expressed great surprize, that PLINY should have suffered an estate to be sold at an under value. FABATUS, in all probability, suspected some collusion between HERMES and CORELLIA^k: but the character of CORELLIA is cleared up

^h See the 11th epistle; and the note where the sesterces are reduced into English money.

ⁱ PUBLICANI. See the observations.

^k The friendship between PLINY and CORELLIA appears by the 3d ep. of book 3. She was daughter of HISPULLA and CORELIUS RUFUS. See book 1. ep. 12. PLINY never mentions her but with the utmost affection.

entirely

entirely by this epistle; and she appears to us of a disposition equally generous with PLINY himself.

Quanti a publicanis partem vicesimam emisti: "The twentieth part purchased by you from the publicans." The publicans were officers of the revenue at Rome. They were employed to receive the public money, and to gather in the taxes, which were imposed upon the people. They are spoken of by TULLY in the highest terms; and represented as *the flower of the Roman knights, the ornament of the city, and the support of the commonwealth*¹. They bear a very different character in the New Testament; and are always put upon a level with the harlot, the heathen, and the sinner. The Jews, who called themselves a free people, held these commissioners in the utmost abhorrence. The publicans in the provinces were farmers of the customs, men of power and fortune in their several districts; but their deputies were of low extraction, and through indigence, or knavery, were guilty of such oppressive violations, as to render their name and employment detestable: so that THEOCRITUS being asked, which was the most cruel of all beasts, replied, "Among the beasts of the wilderness, the bear and the lion; among the beasts of the city, the publican and the parasite."

¹ *Flos equitum Romanorum, ornamentum civitatis, firmamentum reipub. publicanorum ordini continetur. CIC. pro CN. PLANCIO.*

EPISTLE XV.

PLINY to POMPEIUS SATURNINUS.

DO you enquire how I pass my time? It is devoted to my duty in the manner you remember. I am employed in little services for my friends. I study sometimes. I dare not say my life would be better, but certainly it would be happier, if my studies were my constant and only employments.

I should be much grieved to find you continually engaged in a manner, to which your inclinations are absolutely averse, were not those engagements highly honourable. For certainly, to manage the great affairs

fairs of the public, and to pacify the animosities arising between private friends, is a part, that demands the highest applause.

I was convinced, that the conversation of PRISCUS would be entirely agreeable to you. His politeness and sincerity had been long known to me. Many instances of his gratitude had not fallen in my way. I now find the excess of it, since I learn from you, that the little kindnesses I have done him, are so well established in his memory. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

We have seen in this book a preceding epistle to SATURNINUS ^m. This epistle ought to have followed it, as both are instances of a sincere affection between PLINY and his two friends, PRISCUS and SATURNINUS; the latter of whom bears a most remarkable character; for, as PLINY here observes, *Reipublicæ negotia curare, et disceptare inter amicos, laude dignissimum est*: “To govern the affairs of state, “ and to stifle altercations, that are apt sometimes to arise “ between particular friends, is a part, that deserves the “ utmost applause.” In the performance of it, great abilities of mind are required, and no less benevolence of heart.

^m Epistle 7th.

EPISTLE XVI.

PLINY to FABATUS, his wife's grandfather.

CALPURNIUS TYRO is one of my most familiar friends. Our private and public employments have attached us to each other. We were in the army together. We were quæstors to CÆSAR at the same time. As he had children, he had the right of preceding me in the tribuneship. In the prætorship I succeeded him: the emperor excused me in point of age. I have often been at his country houses, and under my roof he has as often found benefit in his health.

As he is constituted proconsul of *Andalusia*, he is going to that province through *Ticinum*^a. I hope, nay I am confident, that I can easily prevail upon him, to turn out of his road to wait upon you, if you are willing to give entire freedom to those slaves, to whom, in presence of your friends, you lately gave manumission. Be under no apprehensions of troubling TYRO. He would go round the world with pleasure to serve me. In this case therefore, lay aside any excess of modesty, and let your own inclinations guide you. He has as much satisfaction in obeying my commands, as I have in obeying yours. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

CALESTRIUM TYRONEM *familiarissimè diligo*: "I have a most particular respect for CALESTRIUS TYRO." The first epistle of the sixth book is a very strong demonstration of the friendship subsisting between PLINY and CALESTRIUS TYRO, whom we now find appointed proconsul of *Bætica*. He had already passed through the offices of quæstor, of tribune, and of prætor. In the beginning of the republic it was necessary, that all proconsuls of provinces should first have exercised the dignity of consul at *Rome*: the observance of this custom was afterwards entirely laid aside; but the name and power were continued to the provincial governors.

Simul quæstores CÆSARIS fuimus. The commentators are of opinion, that *quæstores CÆSARIS* signify secretaries to CÆSAR. *Quidam quæstores principis dicti, item candidati principis, qui libris principalibus (i. e. orationibus) in senatu legendis vacabant*: "Such persons, whose employment it was to read the emperor's speeches in the senate, were called the emperor's quæstors, or the emperor's candidates." They refer to TACITUS, who in the sixteenth book of his annals^o, says, *Oratio principis per quæstorem ejus audita est*: "The emperor's speech was delivered in the senate by his quæstor." The *candidati principis*, in the general acceptance of the expression, were such officers of his household, whom the emperor personally recommended for great

^a *Pavia in Milan.*^o *Cap. 27.*

employ-

employments in the state. A custom introduced by AUGUSTUS, and continued by succeeding princes.

In tribunatu liberorum jure præcessit: "The tribuneship was allotted to him by the right he had in having children." PLINY had no children. CALESTRIUS TYRO, who was a parent, had a right to precede him in the tribuneship by the Pappian law. The particulars of this law have been elsewhere very fully explained ^p.

Ego illum in prætura sum consecutus, cum mihi CÆSAR annum remisisset: "I succeeded TYRO as prætor, the emperor not having insisted upon my age, which was then not adequate to the legal time for possessing that magistracy." By the eleventh epistle of the third book, we know, that PLINY was appointed prætor in the same year when the philosophers were banished Rome, in the thirty second year of his age, and the thirteenth of DOMITIAN's reign. Whoever was elected prætor, ought by law to be forty years of age; which institution gives sufficient authority to explain the words, *annum remisisset*, in a different manner from the literal construction, because PLINY wanted eight years of the sufficient age.

Si voles vindicta liberare, quos proxime inter amicos manumissisti: "If you are willing to give entire freedom to those, whom you have already manumitted before some of your friends." This sentence shews the difference between the *vindicta*, and the *manumissio inter amicos*. The ceremony of manumission was to be performed before five witnesses, who were to testify, that the master, putting his hand upon the head of his slave, had pronounced these words, *hunc hominem liberum esse volo*: "It is my will, that this man becomes free." Thus was the *Servus* exempted from the hardships and punishments of slavery, but not placed in a state of entire liberty; *liber erat, sed non in libertate*. His absolute freedom was in consequence of the *vindicta*, in which the *manumissio* was included. For, as in the first case, five friends only need be present; in the second, the same words were to be pronounced before a magistrate; if in Rome before a prætor; if out of Rome, before a proconsul. When the master had made his declaration, the prætor, or proconsul, holding a certain wand in his hand,

^p In the observations upon the 13th ep. of the 2d book. And again in the obser. upon ep. 15th of the 4th book.

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called *vindieta*, and at the same time raising his voice, said, *Aio te liberum more Quiritium*: "I declare you a free man, according to the custom of the Romans." These are the chief points relating to the *vindieta*, or manner of publicly granting all the privileges of freedom to a slave. FABATUS, we find, intended this honour and indulgence to some of his domestics; and in the thirty second epistle of this book, we are told, he put those intentions into execution.

EPISTLE XVII.

PLINY to NONIUS CELER.

EVERY man has his reasons for rehearsing. My chief inducement is to receive proper criticisms upon those points as may, and will certainly, sometimes, escape my own notice. I am therefore much surprized at the account you give me, that certain persons object against the rehearsals of my speeches; unless they are desirous, that such performances should be published particularly incorrect. I would willingly ask them, why they allow (if indeed they make such a concession,) that history may be rehearsed; since it is so far from being ostentatious, that it is confined absolutely to truth and sincerity? Or why should tragedy be read to a private audience, when neither the scenes nor the actors can be introduced? Or why lyric poetry, which, instead of being read, should be sung in chorus to the lyre? But it may be answered, the rehearsals of such pieces are established into a custom. Was he then to blame, who introduced it? However, the method of reading speeches is practised both by the Greeks and Romans. To this it may be replied, that it is needless to rehearse a speech after it has been spoken. True; if you immediately rehearse it, without the least alteration, to the same persons. But, if you make several insertions and alterations, if your audience be not the same,

same, or, if it be the same, provided your speech be not repeated till after a long interval, is not the reason as plausible for rehearsing a speech, as for publishing it? But again it may be observed, that it is improbable a speech in the rehearsal should give any great satisfaction. Here the objection lies against the behaviour of the person rehearsing, not against the rehearsal itself. For my own part, I desire, that my works, rather than my rehearsals, may be praised. For this reason, I omit no kind of emendation: and first, I review my writings by myself; then I read them to two or three friends; then I give them to others to be criticised; and, if I have the least doubt of those criticisms, I again examine them in company with one or two more. Lastly, I rehearse before a large audience; and it is then, if you will believe me, I make my chief corrections; because my diligence encreases in proportion to my sollicitude. Certainly the best judges are fear, awe, and respect. Hearken till I discuss this point. If you are to speak before any single person, although he were ever so learned, are you not less moved, than if you were to speak before a multitude, who have not the least grain of learning? Are you not most diffident at the time when you rise up to speak? At that moment can you avoid wishing, that not only a part of your speech, but every syllable of it was altered? especially if the scene is more enlarged, and the croud more extended: under such circumstances, the lowest, and most abject persons are revered by us. If at the beginning of your speech, you imagine you discover disapprobation, are you not dispirited and disconcerted? I think these apprehensions must proceed from an imagination, that a great and united body of people form, by their numbers, one certain general opinion; and that those very individuals, who would be indifferent judges when separate, judge admirably when together. Thus POMONIUS SECUNDUS, the

tragic writer, when one of his intimate friends differed from him in retaining or expunging certain parts of his works, used to say, *I appeal to the people*; and then, according to the silence or approbation of the populace, he either followed his own sentiments, or pursued the contrary advice of his friends. So great deference did he pay to the judgement of the people. Whether he was in the right, or in the wrong, is not my enquiry. For my method is not to assemble the whole populace, but a certain select number, whom I reverence, in whom I have a confidence, whom I honour, and of whom I stand in awe, when they are separate, or together. The sentiments of TULLY concerning the pen^a, in my mind, seem applicable to the dread of speaking in public: *Fear is the nicest critic in the world*. The fear of rehearsing corrects our rehearsals; the fear of entering into a public assembly improves us. Our pale looks, our dreadful thoughts, our timorous circumspection, are all so many emendations. I cannot therefore repent of a custom, of which I have found the advantage: nor can the trifling objections of these cavillers deter me from entreating you to add, if possible, some new method, that may render my writings still more perfect. My endeavours, in this particular, are never to be satisfied. The great hazard of sending any composition into the world is constantly in my thoughts; and I am fully persuaded, that any work, which you are desirous may please universally, and may live for ever, ought to be revised very frequently, and by a great number of friends. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

In this epistle PLINY states all the objections, that can be made, against rehearsals of speeches to a select audience. He attempts to answer those objections; and in his answers,

^a See the observations on this epistle.

he mentions many particulars, that must prove useful and advantageous to authors, and orators of every age. He represents fear and respect, in a light, that may promote and encourage eloquence; and he practises delicacy and correctness to a degree that ought to be imitated, and that cannot be too much admired. Towards the latter end of the epistle he alludes to a sentence in TULLY, *Nam quod M. CICERO de stilo, ego de metu sentio*; which, without explanation, appears a little obscure. The literal translation is, "What CICERO says of the pen, I think applicable to fear." The words of TULLY are, *Stilus est optimus et præstantissimus dicendi effector, atque magister*: "The pen is the best, and the most excellent master, and director of elocution." I scarce need tell you, CHARLES, that the book, from whence this apophthegm is taken, was written by TULLY, at the request of his brother QUINTUS, who differed from him in his opinion concerning eloquence. MARCUS QUINTUS alledges, that natural abilities, with some experience, are sufficient to make a compleat orator. MARCUS TULLIUS not only requires abilities in an orator, but an entire knowledge of all the liberal arts and sciences. The dispute is maintained in the way of dialogue. The opinion of MARCUS CICERO is defended by L. CRASSUS, the opinion of QUINTUS, by M. ANTONY. The sentiments, which PLINY thinks applicable to fear, are delivered by CRASSUS to this purpose. "Speeches ought not only to be premeditated, but to be written: A method, which is so laborious, that few people practise it. OUR PENS ARE OUR BEST MASTERS IN ELOQUENCE. The orator, who exercises himself in a constant practice of writing down his thoughts and arguments, will, if required, speak immediately with great ease, and without the trouble of premeditation."

* CICERO de Oratore, lib. 1. cap. 33.

† COTTA, SULPITIUS, and others, are introduced into the dialogue.

‡ *Quamobrem in istis ipsis exercitationibus, etsi utile est, etiam subito sæpe dicere, tamen illud utilius, sumpto spatio ad cogitandum, paratius, atque accuratius dicere. Caput autem est, quod (ut vere dicam) minimè facimus (est enim magni laboris, quem plerique fugimus) quam plurimum scribere. STILUS OPTIMUS, ET PRÆSTANTISSIMUS DICENDI EFFECTOR, AC MAGISTER: neque injuria. Nam si subitam et fortuitam orationem commentatio & cogitatio facile vincit; hanc ipsam profecto assidua ac diligens scriptura superabit.*

PLINY, by the expression, *Timor est emendator asperimus*, "Fear is a critic of great severity," seems to establish such a rule in favour of reverential awe due to a public audience, that a true orator ought either to be naturally modest, or to assume the appearance of that virtue.

EPISTLE XVIII.

PLINY to CANINIUS RUFUS.

YOU ask me, in what manner the money, which you have given to my fellow citizens for an annual feast, may be secured to them after your death? Your enquiry is noble. The answer to it is difficult. Will you give the whole sum to the community? In that case, it is in danger of being squandered. Will you give land? The lands belonging to the public will be neglected. Indeed I can find no method more effectual, than that which I pursued myself.

I had promised five hundred thousand sesterces^a, for the maintenance of persons of both sexes, who were born free^w. I conveyed to the treasurer of the public revenue a particular part of my estate of much greater value. He reconveyed the same estate to me, reserving an annual rent of thirty thousand sesterces^x. By these means the fund is secured to the community, to whom the profit arising from the land is rendered certain; and the land itself, as it is of so much higher value than the rent reserved, will always find a proprietor.

I am convinced, that by this method I have lost something more than I appear to have bestowed; since the necessity of paying the reserved rent must diminish the value of so fair an estate. But the benefit of the public is to be preferred to private interest; and gifts,

^a Equal to 4036 l. 9 s. 2 d.

^w *In alimenta ingenuorum, ingenuarumque.* See the observations.

^x Equal to 242 l. 3 s. 9 d.

that

that are most durable, to those of a shorter duration. Our benefactions ought to be considered by us more attentively, than the income of our estates. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

By looking back to the third epistle of the first book, we shall find, that CANINIUS RUFUS was particularly fond of his villa near *Comum*. PLINY begins that letter, *Quid Comum tuæ meæque deliciæ?* and then in a series of interrogations continues to describe the beauties of the place, as adorned and improved by CANINIUS. But in whatever degree RUFUS might excel in the art of building, or in the ornamental disposition of his house and gardens, his judgment is certainly to be arraigned in the art of giving; as appears by this particular benefaction to the inhabitants of *Comum*. The debaucheries of feasting, and the revels of an annual holiday, must have been the effects of his generosity, and the original design must have ended in a yearly foundation for riot and inebriety. How much more beneficial was the munificence of PLINY? An annual support for children well born must have proved of infinite benefit to the commonwealth. The fruits of virtue must have arisen from such seeds; as on the other hand, vice and idleness would have been nourished, by a perpetual establishment of luxury and excess.

In alimenta ingenuorum ingenuarumque: “For the maintenance of young men and women of good extraction.” This particular piece of munificence in PLINY to the *Novocomenses* is mentioned by him in the eighth epistle of the first book, where he tells POMPEIUS SATURNINUS, *Non ludos aut gladiatores, sed annuos sumptus in alimenta ingenuorum pollicebamur*: “Instead of games, or gladiators, I allotted a certain subsistence for young persons, who were free-born.” The gift of PLINY was not extended to persons, whose predecessors were so entirely free-born, that they had never been in a state of slavery: it was appropriated only to the *ingenui*, whose parents, either father or mother, were free, but whose ancestors had been slaves^y, a descent, which entitled them to give their votes, and enjoy offices in the state.

^y Vide ROSINI Antiquit. lib. 1. cap. 20.

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Ager ipse propter id, quod vectigal large supercurrit, semper dominum, a quo exerceatur, inveniet: "The land itself, as it is of so much higher a value, than the rent reserved, will never want a proprietor." This sentence requires some explanation. The meaning of it seems to be, That, if PLINY, or any future proprietor of the estate should have an inclination to sell these lands, he could not fail of a purchaser, since the certain income was annually much more, than the rent reserved to the community. To illustrate this interpretation, if we suppose the rent-roll of this estate to be four hundred pounds a year, as the income appropriated to the *ingnui* was only about two hundred and thirty; the remainder, of above one hundred and sixty pounds a year, was answerable to all incidents and outgoings: which occasions PLINY to observe, immediately afterwards*, that he should be a loser in the sale of an estate, the greater part of which was devoted to a certain and indisputable rent charge; while the lesser part was left liable to events and losses of every kind.

* *Nec ignoro me plus, &c.*

EPISTLE XIX.

PLINY to NERATIUS PRISCUS.

I AM extremely concerned at the illness of FANNIA; occasioned by her attendance (which was first voluntary, afterwards at the command of the high priests) upon JUNIA VIRGINIA her relation. If the vestal virgins, by excess of ill health, are obliged to quit the temple of their goddess, they are placed in the care and custody of matrons. While FANNIA was performing her duty in that character, she contracted her present dangerous indisposition. She has a continued fever, her cough encreases, she is very much emaciated, and has frequent fits of fainting; but still preserves a greatness of soul, and a vivacity of spirit, that might become her husband HELVIDIUS, and her father THRASEA. All the rest of her faculties

ties are wasting; so that I am at once in fear, and in grief for her. I must grieve to see so excellent a woman snatched from the eyes of Rome; and must doubt, if we shall ever behold her like again. How remarkable was her chastity, her religion, her sense, her fortitude! Twice she followed her husband into banishment: the third time she was banished upon his account; for when SENEPIO was accused of having written the life of HELVIDIUS, he said in his defence, that his writings were composed at the earnest request of FANNIA. She was asked by METIUS CARUS, in a threatening manner, *If she had made that request?* She answered in the affirmative. *If she had furnished him with materials?* She had. *If her mother knew of the transactions?* No. Throughout the whole examination, she did not betray, by her answers, any apprehensions of danger. And farther, when a decree of the senate, from the constraint and dread then prevalent, confiscated the estate, and ordered the history of HELVIDIUS to be suppressed, she still retained a copy, and made those books, which had been the cause of her exile, the companions of it. She was chearful, affable, and, which seldom happens, at the same time, that she was lovely, she was venerable. She will certainly be hereafter an example to all wives. She will be an example of fortitude, that even men may follow. We look upon her with the same veneration, while we see her, and converse with her, as we read antient histories of women, who have heretofore acted like her. To my eye the whole family appears like a falling house, torn from its foundation, and bursting into ruins. She has indeed descendants; but how great must be their virtues and achievements, to convince us, that in her death the last of her race did not perish? One particular point is an additional weight to my anxiety and affliction; in the loss of FANNIA, I seem once more to lose her mother;

mother^a: The mother of this most excellent woman! (what higher illustration can her character receive?) whom the daughter represented so exactly, that she brought back her image to us; and now is carrying away that image with her. Thus I receive new wounds; and my old wounds bleed again. I revered both. I was devoted to both. I know not which of the two had the largest share of my affection; nor were either of them willing to make the distinction. In their prosperity they commanded all the service in my power: they commanded it no less in their adversity. I comforted them in their banishment. I revenged their injuries at their return. But they have not yet received the equivalent, that I owe; and which I was now particularly desirous to pay, as the present times permitted me to effect it. I have written to you under this load of care. If some deity shall change the scene into joy, I shall not hereafter complain of my present anxiety. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

Particular virtues are often successive from generation to generation, as in the example of FANNIA, who possessed the courage of her female ancestors. She was granddaughter of the first, and daughter of the second ARRIA.

From an expression in this epistle, *ac mihi domus ipsa nutare, convulsaque sedibus suis ruitura supra videtur, licet adhuc posteros habeat*; "This illustrious family appears now to me to be in danger of ruin: for although she has left descendants, yet her death seems to threaten all with immediate destruction, and to tear up the very foundation of the house;" we may conclude she had children, but they are not in any manner particularized by PLINY. The Helvidian sisters, deeply lamented by him, in the twenty first epistle of the fourth book, were the daughters of HELVIDIUS the younger, by his wife ANTEIA^b. If they had been

^a The second ARRIA: the widow of THRASEA PÆTUS. See the observations on ep. 16. book 3.

^b She is mentioned in the 9th book, ep. 13.

the daughters of FANNIA, it is scarce possible that PLINY would have omitted to have mentioned their mother and grandmother; especially as those two ladies were so much extolled by him in this letter.

FANNIA was the mother-in-law of the younger HELVIDIUS: she was the second wife of his father HELVIDIUS PRISCUS, as is evident from an expression in the thirteenth epistle of the ninth book, where PLINY says, *Fuerat alioquin mihi cum HELVIDIO amicitia: Fuerat cum ARRIA et FANNIA, quarum altera HELVIDII noverca, altera mater novercæ*: "I had always entertained a particular friendship for HELVIDIUS; nor were my regards less sincere to ARRIA and FANNIA: The latter was mother-in-law to HELVIDIUS; the former was mother to that mother-in-law."

It is impossible not to be inquisitive after every circumstance relating to so illustrious a family. The Roman story cannot produce any other instance of a succession equally bright in heroes and heroines, married to each other; but more closely allied by their virtues, than by their marriages.

CÆCINNA PÆTUS married the first ARRIA.

THRASEA PÆTUS married her daughter, the second ARRIA.

HELVIDIUS PRISCUS married FANNIA, the daughter of the second ARRIA.

HELVIDIUS the younger [son of HELVIDIUS PRISCUS by his first wife] married ANTEIA^c; by whom he had a son and two daughters; [The *Helvidiæ sorores*.]

Thus stands the genealogy of this distinguished house. The children of FANNIA are entirely unknown: Happy perhaps in an early death, or in an entire obscurity; *quantis enim virtutibus, quantisque factis assequuntur, ut hæc non novissima occiderit?* "For how great must be their virtues, and how glorious their actions, when she shall not appear to have been the last, in the annals of fame?"

^c ANTEIA was the daughter of PUBLIUS ANTEIUS. See the observations on the 13th epistle of book 9.

EPISTLE XX.

PLINY to CORNELIUS TACITUS.

I Have read your book, and with the utmost care have made remarks upon such passages, as I think ought either to be altered, or to be expunged. For both you have been used to hear truth, and I to speak it, without reserve. No persons are more patient of correction, than those, who are most deserving of applause. At present I am in expectation of receiving my own book, with your annotations; happy and agreeable exchange! With what pleasure I reflect, that if our names shall be taken notice of by posterity, the harmony, the innocence, and the sincerity, in which we have lived, will be universally mentioned. It will be as uncommon, as remarkable, that two men, very near of equal age and dignity, of some reputation in literature (for I am obliged to speak modestly of you, when I introduce myself) should mutually cultivate the studies of each other.

In the earliest time of my life, when I saw you flourishing in all the glory of a high character, I was desirous to follow you, and to be the next to you, although I knew, there must be a wide interval between us. The times abounded with men of genius; but, in my eye, such was the sympathy of nature, you appeared the easiest to be imitated of them all, and the most worthy of my imitation. I have a particular pleasure therefore in reflecting, that when any discourse turns upon literature, we shall be named together; and that when your name is mentioned, mine must inevitably follow. Some persons indeed prefer us alternately to each other. But if we are joined, it is to me of little consequence in what manner; because, in my opinion, he, who is next to you, is before all the rest of the world. And you ought to
take

take particular notice, that in wills, unless where the intimacy has not happened to have been equal to us both, our legacies are the same, and we are both remembered in the same manner. All these circumstances lead to one point, the encrease of our mutual affection; since we are thus linked together by literature, morals, fame, and the voices of dying men. Farewell.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

Although in the series of PLINY's epistles, many letters may be produced of warm affection between him, and the persons with whom he corresponds, yet his friendship to TACITUS ever appears in a superlative degree. He gives a particular reason for it in this epistle; *erant multa clarissima ingenia, sed tu mihi, ita similitudo naturæ ferebat, maximè imitabilis, maximè imitandus videbaris*: "Amidst a plentiful choice of men of
 " the greatest genius, you appeared to me the most imitable,
 " and the most to be imitated; such was the similitude of our
 " natures." A similitude of disposition united these two eminent men. They were the finest and most celebrated authors of their age. Of the two, TACITUS has been the more fortunate in the establishment of his character, and the preservation of his writings: his annals and his history, although far from being entire, are still sufficient to shew the strength of his abilities, and the noble freedom of his spirit. The works of PLINY are diminished to his epistles and his panegyric. His epistles appear in a great degree historical; but they are histories of persons seldom mentioned by other writers, and consequently little known to posterity. The works of TACITUS are written in all the order and dignity of an historian: The epistles of PLINY, in all the freedom and kindness of a private friend. History, and annals, by their very titles, awaken our attention. Towards familiar letters our expectations are much less acute. The editions of TACITUS have been published with taste and judgement: The epistles of PLINY, like the works of SYLVESTER, have been left to the mercy of the winds. The style of each author has been justly condemned. The affectation of PLINY is sometimes inexcusable: The conciseness of TACITUS is often unintelligible. PLINY's thirst of fame is
 always

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always outrageous: The decisive judgement of *TACITUS* is frequently erroneous. *PLINY* tires us with digressions: *TACITUS* scarce gives us time to breath. *PLINY* is sometimes too gentle: *TACITUS* is perpetually too rough. Such were their human frailties, and the errors of their pencils: but their sentiments, and their virtues, are equally and inimitably great.

EPISTLE XXI.

PLINY to CORNUTUS TERTULLUS.

I Obey your commands, my dearest colleague^d, and consult the infirmity of my eyes. For I came hither shut up in so close a vehicle, that I travelled, as it were, in a bed. And while I am here I abstain, not without some difficulty indeed, from writing, and even from reading: I study only with my ears. I draw the curtains of my bedchamber, but in such a manner, as not to render it quite dark. My gallery, by shutting the lower windows, admits as much shade as light. Thus, by degrees, I learn to bear the light. I bathe, because it is wholesom. I drink a small quantity of wine, because it is not unwholesom. These rules I have generally observed, and to these rules I shall at present be most certainly confined by the person, who is with me. The fowl, which you sent to me, was extremely acceptable. Weak as my eyes are, I could perceive she was fat. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

PLINY was of a most delicate, tender constitution: the weakness of his body was unable to sustain the labours of his mind. His eyes were impaired by continual study; and he was obliged to retire to his villa near *Rome*, for the be-

^d See the 15th epistle of „book 5. and the observations on that epistle.

nefit of air and exercise. We may certainly date this letter at *Laurentinum*, as he mentions the windows of the *Cryptoporticus*, so as to answer exactly the description of that gallery in the seventeenth epistle of the second book. He travelled in a kind of litter, *tecto vehiculo undique inclusus, quasi incubiculo*: “ I was shut up in a carriage so well closed on “ every side, that I seemed to travel in my bedchamber.” DION CASSIUS * calls this vehicle *διφρον καλίστηρον*, “ a covered chariot;” and says, that the emperor CLAUDIUS was the first Roman, who made use of it. The paralytic disorder, to which CLAUDIUS was subject, and the timorousness of his nature, compelled him to expose himself to public view as little as possible. This sort of vehicle was afterwards entirely appropriated to the sick.

Balneum adsumo, quia prodest: “ I make use of the bath, “ because I know it to be salutary.” Bathing was among the Romans an universal remedy; and was at least as agreeable, as salutiferous. In the first epistle of this book PLINY mentions his abstinence from bathing, as an instance of the greatest self-denial, that could possibly be practised.

* Lib. 60.

E P I S T L E XXII. .

PLINY to POMPEIUS FALCO.

YOU will be less surprized, that I have so earnestly entreated you to confer the tribuneship upon my friend, as soon as you know his birth and character. As I have now engaged your promise in his favour, I may venture to name and to describe him. He is CORNELIUS MINUTIANUS; an ornament to our province in dignity and morals. He is of an illustrious family, and in possession of a great estate; but pursues his studies, as if he were absolutely indigent. As a judge, he is equitable; as an advocate, powerful; as a friend, sincere. You will thank me for my present recommendation, as soon as you have inspected into the merits of this man, who, I shall

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only

only say, lest I may offend his excessive modesty, is equal to all honours and titles whatever. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

This epistle is one of the many instances of PLINY's zealous attachment to his friends. If his recommendatory letters were all placed together, they would amount to a very large number. Part of the character of VILLIERS, DUKE of BUCKINGHAM, as given by LORD CLARENDON, is extremely applicable to PLINY: "His kindness and affection to his friends were so vehement, that they were as so many marriages, for better for worse."

The only particular circumstance relating to CORNELIUS MINUTIANUS, is to be deduced from the expression, *ornamentum regionis meæ*, by which he appears to have been one of the *Novocomenses*, a native of the same province with PLINY. Custom, for I can scarce think it nature, has implanted in us such an unaccountable partiality to the territories, in which we were born, that we are not only fond of the spot itself, but are more inclined to the persons, whose birth happens in the same district, than to any other set of people in the universe. Yet upon cooler reflexion all these prejudices ought to be thrown aside; because every wise man would wish to appear a citizen of the world.

EPISTLE XXIII.

PLINY to FABATUS, his wife's grandfather.

I Rejoice sincerely, that you are so robust, as to be able to meet TYRO at *Mediolanum*^f. But that your strength may not be in the least impaired, I entreat you not to impose upon your age so great a fa-

^f *Mediolanum* [Milan] was built by the Gauls, in the year of Rome 395. The city is most highly extolled among the *claræ urbes* of AUSONIUS:

*Et Mediolani mira omnia: copia rerum,
Innumerae cultæque domus, facunda virorum
Ingenia, et mores læti.*

tigue. Be assured from me, that TYRO will attend you at your house ; in any part of your house : you will have no occasion to stir beyond your bedchamber. For, since he is beloved by me, as if he were my brother, he certainly ought not to exact from you, whom I look upon as a parent, those ceremonies, which he would not expect from his own father. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

The turn of this epistle is extremely tender, and genteel. It ought to have been immediately subsequent to the sixteenth epistle of this book ; and ought to have been followed by the thirty second letter of this book. Each of them is addressed to FABATUS ; and each of them refers to the same subject : and, if placed in proper order, they would have formed a connective account of TYRO's journey, and the kindness of FABATUS to his slaves.

E P I S T L E XXIV.

PLINY to DUCENNIUS GEMINUS.

NUMIDIA QUADRATILLA is dead, at almost fourscore years of age ; fresh and hale to her last moments ; robust and strong beyond her sex. She has made a most discreet will. She has appointed her grandson and her granddaughter to be her heirs. To the first, she has left two thirds ; to the latter, the remainder of her fortune.

I am little acquainted with the granddaughter. The grandson is my intimate friend. He is a most extraordinary young man ; and demands the affection of those, who are not in any degree of affinity to him. He is particularly handsome, but maintained a most unspotted character, as a boy, and as a youth. He married at the age of four and twenty, and, if heaven had so permitted, would have been a father.

He lived perfectly reserved with a grandmother, who was much devoted to pleasures; yet he lived with her in a most submissive obedience. She had pantomimes, whom she encouraged in a more extraordinary manner, than became a woman of high rank. QUADRATUS never saw them; neither at the theatre, nor at her house. She did not require his attendance upon those occasions. I have heard her say, at the time when she recommended to me the supervisal of her grandson's studies, that she had accustomed herself, in the effeminate indolence of her sex, and as a relaxation to her mind, to play at chess, and to be entertained by pantomimes; but that when she was determined upon either of these amusements, she always ordered her grandson to retire to his studies. To me she appeared to act in this manner, not only out of love of the young man, but from mere reverence.

I shall now surprise you, as much as I myself was surprised. At the late pontifical games, the pantomimes were introduced upon the stage: and when QUADRATUS and I were afterwards going out of the theatre together, he said to me, "Do you know, that this is the first time I have ever seen QUADRATILIA's freedman in the character of a dancer?"

Such is her grandson. But on the other hand, a particular set of men, of a different disposition, in honour of QUADRATILLA, (I am ashamed to make use of the word honour upon the occasion) were running about the theatre, in the true spirit of flattery, with all the ecstasy of wonder and applause; imitating the particular gestures of QUADRATILLA, and singing to her. These persons have received small legacies, as a reward for their theatrical performances; which will be paid them by an heir, who never beheld any of their buffooneries.

I have

I have written this account, because you used not to be displeased, in hearing every event, that happened; and because by writing it over, I renew my original pleasure. The chief subjects of my joy are, the affection shewn by the deceased grandmother, and the honour done to this excellent young man. For I am glad, that the house of CAIUS CASSIUS, the principal and the founder of the Cassian school, will descend to no inferior a master. My friend QUADRATUS will fill it, and become it; he will restore it to the antient glory, dignity, and distinction; and he will shew himself as great an orator, as CASSIUS was a lawyer. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This gay old lady of fourscore seems not to have made any distinction, between the ridiculous buffoonery of pantomimes, and the more decent entertainment of a game at chess. Her grandson is equally prohibited from both. The former might perhaps appear an improper pleasure for a young man, while the latter might tend to his improvement. Chess is a kind of science in itself, and the knowledge of it has been of use to generals in the disposition of their armies. PYRRHUS, in ranging his soldiers for a battle, practised the rules of chess; and became a conqueror, *ex lusu calculorum*. But as chess is said to exercise the passions to the greatest degree², it is possible, that QUADRATILLA might frequently lose her temper at that game; and might be unwilling, and ashamed to discover the violence and weakness of her disposition to her grandson. The opinion of PLINY seems to favour this interpretation, when he says, *quod mihi non amore ejus magis facere, quam reverentia videbatur*: “She did not seem to do this more out of love, than from a particular reverence of behaviour, which she always sustained before him.”

Alienissimi homines, in honorem QUADRATILLÆ, (pudet me dixisse honorem) per adulationis officium in theatrum cursitabant, exsultabant, plaudebant, mirabantur, ac deinde singulos gestus domi-

² See Les Essais de Montaigne, Livre 1. chap. 50.

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næ cum canticis reddebant. The expression, *alienissimi homines*, may be translated, "men of a different disposition from "QUADRATUS," or, "men in no degree of affinity to "QUADRATILLA." They were her pantomimes, in whom she took more delight, than became a woman of her high station. They received legacies by her will, *theatralis operæ corollarium*, "as a reward for their performances in the theatre, where they danced and sung, and, in singing, assumed the airs and gestures of QUADRATILLA herself." But they assumed them in such a manner, as to render themselves agreeable to her. They became a kind of flattering looking-glass, wherein she beheld the reflexion of her own person in a most advantageous light; and by her bequests to these living portraits, she seemed to bequeath legacies to herself.

The art of mimicry arrived at the utmost perfection among the Romans. The professors of that art were divided into various classes. Such were the *mimi*, *saltatores*^b, *scurræ*, *satyri*, &c. But the *pantomimi*ⁱ included all characters whatever;

They wore, well vers'd in all the arts to mock,
The tragic buskin, or the comic sock.

^b LUCIAN gives us an account of one of the *saltatores*, who, in the reign of NERO, represented in dumb-show the adultery of MARS and VENUS, and, in his own single person, performed the several parts, that were to be introduced in that story. Vide LUCIAN *περί δεξιότητος*.

ⁱ *Omnium gesticulatores, ex πάντα omnia, et μίμνῃς imitatio.* Although they were not professed tragedians, yet they acted mournful parts of funerals.

EPISTLE XXV.

PLINY to CANINIUS RUFUS,

ALAS! what a number of learned men are lost and buried to fame, either by their own modesty, or by their retirement! But when we are to speak, or to rehearse in public, we are only afraid of professed critics: whereas the persons, who are less ostentatious

ostentatious of their learning, are more to be esteemed; as by their silence they seem to revere an excellent performance. My assertion proceeds from experience.

TERENTIUS JUNIOR, who had served in the equestrian order of soldiers, and had been *procurator*^k in the province of *Narbo*, having performed his duty in a most distinguished manner, withdrew himself to his own estate, and preferred retirement to the honours, that must have attended him. He invited me to his house; and as I always looked upon him as an excellent father of a family, and a good husbandman, I turned my discourse upon such topics, as I imagined might best suit his experience. I had taken that road, when, by a most learned conversation, he immediately called me out of it, into a field of literature; in which he expressed himself with all the delicacy of the Greek and Latin dialect; for, he is so well versed in both these languages, that he seems to excel in that which he is speaking. He has a vast fund of reading; and a very extensive memory. You would conclude, that he had lived in *Athens*, not in a country village. But to end this topic, let me tell you, he has redoubled my usual anxiety, and has convinced me, that I am not to entertain a greater awe for persons, whose characters in literature I know to be established, than for these men, who are secluded from the world, and seemingly devoted to rural occupations. I advise you to be of my opinion: for, upon a diligent scrutiny, you will find, that, as in the army, the bravest soldiers; so in literature, the best scholars are often concealed under the most uncouth appearances. Adieu.

* See the observations on epistle 31, Book 6.

OBSERVATIONS.

Some of the sentiments and expressions in this epistle are very much embarrassed. Towards the beginning, PLINY says, *quum illi, qui tacent, hoc amplius præstent, quod maximum opus silentio reverentur*; "Those, who are silent, are more to be respected, than those, who criticise a work; because, by their silence, they revere the performance." This assertion is by no means to be supported. Silence is as apt to condemn, as to approve; at least it is impossible to know the opinion of a person, who has not declared it. If the proverb be just, that *he, who is not for me, is against me*, taciturnity is a certain mark of disapprobation. To own the truth, PLINY upon these kinds of topics, such as orations, rehearsals, and speeches at the bar, is often so mysterious, as scarce to be in any degree intelligible.

TERENTIUS JUNIOR *equestribus militiis*, "TERENTIUS JUNIOR was of the equestrian order," and in that rank had served in the army. He was a man of birth; and was consequently in the highest road of preferment. We shall hereafter find two letters to him; the fifteenth of the eighth, and the twelfth epistle of the ninth book.

Procuratore Narbonensis provinciæ integerrimè functus: "He behaved himself with the utmost integrity during his procuratorship in Narbon Gaul." The province of Narbo [*Gallia Narbonensis*] was called, until the division of *Gallia* by AUGUSTUS, *provincia Romanorum*¹. The exact bounds of it are given to us by PLINY the elder, who farther adds this remarkable account, in honour of the country, *agrorum cultu, virorum morumque dignatione, amplitudine opum, nulli provinciarum postferenda, breviterque Italia verius, quam provincia*^m: "By the culture of the land, the dignity of the men and manners, the extent of their riches, this province is second to none; and in a word, may rather be looked upon as *Italy*, than as a province belonging to it." From such a description, we may perceive the propriety, and almost the necessity, of PLINY's expression, *integerrimè functus*. The procurator of such a fruitful and extensive province had

¹ JULIUS CÆSAR, in his commentaries, calls it, *nostra provincia*. It was then the only province belonging to the Romans beyond the Alps. Vide C. JUL. CÆS. *de bello Gallico*, Lib. 1.

^m PLIN. *Natur. Hist. Lib. 3. cap. 4.*

as many inducements as possible to be dishonest. He was in a manner trusted with untold gold. The receipts of the entire revenue, arising out of one of the most opulent territories in the world, must have afforded great allurements to a mind, that was not fortified by virtue against temptations of every kind.

Paratistique honoribus tranquillissimum otium prætulit: “ He chose to retire, rather than to enjoy those honours, which only waited his acceptance.” This sentence alludes to the wise custom, in constant prevalence with the Romans, of rising from honour to honour, in a progressive series, and by stated degrees. JUNIOR had already been procurator of a province; and he might have ascended still higher and higher, even to the supreme dignity, if he had not preferred retirement to the consulship itself.

The last sentence of this letter, *sunt enim ut in castris, sic etiam in literis nostris*, &c. is such a confusion of metaphors, as must leave us to imagine, that PLINY sent away this epistle in the utmost haste, without any correction, or revival.

E P I S T L E XXVI.

P L I N Y to M A X I M U S.

THE illness of a particular friend has lately convinced me, that in sickness we are always most virtuous. The sick man is not tormented with lust, nor avarice; he is insensible to all kinds of love; he is no longer in pursuit of honours; he is regardless of wealth, of which, as he is leaving it, he thinks the smallest share sufficient. At that time he remembers the Gods, and recollects, that he is a man. The passions of envy, admiration, and contempt, have not the least influence over him. He pays no attention to slander, nor receives the least delight from it. His dreams are of baths and fountains; they are the height of his care, and the summit of his wishes. His resolutions are, in case of recovery, to lead, for the future, an indolent and decent life; that is, to live innocently and happily. From hence I can briefly offer

offer to us both a doctrine, which the philosophers have endeavoured to expound in many words, and many volumes, that we should live in health, conformably to the resolutions which we make in sickness. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

Two points in this epistle require some particular notice and explanation. The malignity, in which the sick man takes no pleasure; and the baths and fountains, which engage all his attention.

In the first of these assertions, *Ac ne sermonibus quidem malignis aut attendit, aut alitur*: "He is neither attentive to malicious stories, nor desirous of hearing them." PLINY hints at the general love of slander and malevolence, which he had observed prevalent among mankind. In health and prosperity no topic is more acceptable, than detraction. We seem to imagine, that all good qualities, taken from our neighbours, must necessarily be given to ourselves; and from their errors and imperfections, must result our proportion of reputation and applause. Envy has so large a share in the human composition, that the observation of the poet is unhappily too true;

There is a lust in man no power can tame,
Of loudly publishing his neighbour's shame:
On eagle's wings invidious scandals fly,
While virtuous actions are but born, and die.

Balnea imaginatur et fontes: "He dreams of baths and fountains." Physicians and poets seem to agree, that the bath is one of the most powerful medicines in banishing fatigue from the body, and anxiety from the mind. Some authors suppose it called βαλανεύον [*Balneum*] ἀπὸ τοῦ βάλλειν τὰς αἰνίας, *quod molestias pellat*: "Because it banishes care." PINDAR speaks of it in this view, when he gives the highest praise to the charms of the harp.

Οὐδὲ θερμὸν ὕδωρ τόσσον
 Γε μαλθακὰ τεύχει
 Γυῖα, ὅσσον εὐλογία
 Φόρμιγλι συνάορος ⁿ.

“ Not equal joy the pleasing bath bestows,
 “ True source of ease, and parent of repose,
 “ Nor find our wearied limbs such pleasure there,
 “ As when the lyre’s sweet thrilling meets our ear.”

How far this prevailing custom among the antients contributed to health, is not in this place to be determined ^m. But the immediate pleasure and refreshment, which it constantly afforded, might very well give occasion to PLINY to affix, in baths and fountains, the comfort of all persons, who languished under any violent, or painful disorder.

The other parts of this epistle, especially the conclusion, require no annotations, but undoubtedly deserve our concurrence and applause.

ⁿ Nemea Δ. *Neque calida aqua tantum mollia facit membra, quantum laus citharæ socia.*

^m LORD BACON is of opinion, that the warm bath relaxes, and enervates too much; and thinks it particularly dangerous, if used without anointing afterwards. *Vide Histor. vitæ et mortis: BACON’S works. VOL. II.*

E P I S T L E XXVII.

PLINY to LICINIUS SURA.

OUR present leisure permits you to teach, and me to learn from you. I would therefore willingly know, if you are of opinion, that phantoms are real figures, and carry in them some kind of divinity; or are empty vain shadows, raised in our imaginations by the effect of fear?

An incident, which happened, as I have been informed, to CURTIUS RUFUS, was my first inducement to credit their reality. At a time, when his fortune was low, and his character in obscurity, he accompanied into *Africa* the person, who was chosen governor.

vernor. Towards the evening, while he was walking in a portico, the figure of a woman, fairer and larger than the human size, presented itself to him. He was much frightened. She said, she was AFRICA, who came to foretel him future events; adding, that he was destined to go to *Rome*, to enjoy high honours there; to return governor of the province, in which he then resided; and to die in that province. All these facts were fulfilled. It is farther reported, that the same figure met him upon the shore of *Carthage*, as he was coming out of a ship. It is certain, that as soon as he found himself ill, he gave up all hopes of recovery, although none of his friends despaired of his life. The remembrance of his past honours convinced him of his future end; which he judged was approaching from his former prosperity.

Consider now, if the following story is not as wonderful, and still more terrible, than the former. I shall relate it in the manner, that I received it. There was at *Athens* a very large and spacious house; but of evil report, and fatal to the inhabitants. In the dead of night, the clinking of iron, and, upon a closer attention, the rattling of chains was heard; first, at a great distance, and afterwards very near. A spectre immediately appeared, representing an old man, emaciated, and squalid. His beard long, his hair staring; bolts upon his legs; upon his hands chains; which he rattled, as he carried. From these circumstances the inhabitants, in all the agonies of fear, continued watching during several melancholy and dreadful nights. Such constant watchings brought on distempers; illness was encreased by fear, and death ensued; for even in the day, when the spectre was not visible, the representation of the image wandered before their eyes: so that the terror was of longer continuance, than the presence of the spectre. At length the house was deserted, and entirely left to the apparition. A bill however was posted up, to signify, that the house
was

was either to be sold, or lett; in hopes that some person, ignorant of the calamity, might offer for it. ATHENODORUS^o, the philosopher, came at that time to *Athens*; he read the bill: the price surpris'd him: he suspected some bad cause to occasion the cheapness, and, upon enquiry, was informed of all the circumstances; by which he was so little deterred, that they were stronger inducements to hire it. When the evening came on, he ordered a bed to be prepared for him in the first apartment. He called for lights, for his table-books, and his pen. He sent all his servants into the farther parts of the house, and applied his eyes, his hands, and his whole attention to writing; lest, as he had heard of apparitions, his mind, if unemployed, might suggest to him idle fears, and represent false appearances. The beginning of the night was as silent there, as in other places. At length the irons clinked, and the chains rattled. ATHENODORUS neither lifted up his eyes, nor quitted his pen; but collecting his resolution, stopt his ears^p. The noise encreased; it approached, as it was now heard at the threshold of the door, and immediately after within the room. The philosopher turned back his head, and saw the figure, which he observed to answer the description, that he had received of it. The apparition stood still, and beckoned with a finger, like a person, who calls another. ATHENODORUS signified, by the motion of his hand, that the ghost should stay a little; and again immediately applied himself to writing^q. The spectre rattled his chains over the head of the philosopher, who, look-

^o A famous Stoic philosopher, born at *Tarsus*; the preceptor of AUGUSTUS, to whom he gave the famous piece of advice, to repeat the four and twenty letters of the alphabet, whenever he found his passion rising.

^p *Sed obfirmare animum, auribusque prætere.* "But to fortify himself with resolution, endeavoured to impose upon his own sense of hearing."

^q *Ceris et stylo.* See the observations on book 8. ep. 9.
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ing back, saw him beckoning as before; and immediately taking up a light, followed him. The ghost went forward in a slow pace, as if encumbered by the chains; and afterwards turning into a court belonging to the house, immediately vanished, leaving the philosopher alone; who, finding himself thus deserted, pulled up some grass and leaves, and placed them as a signal to find the spot of ground. The next day he went to the magistrates; informed them of the event, and desired, that they would order the place to be dug up. Human bones were found buried there, and bound in chains. Time and the earth had mouldered away the flesh, and the skeleton only remained; which was publicly buried: and after the rites of sepulture, the house was no longer haunted. I give credit to these circumstances, as reported by others: the following account I can affirm from my own knowledge.

I have a freed-man, a man of learning, whose name is MARCUS: he lay in the same bed with his younger brother, and imagined, that he perceived a person sitting upon his bed, who applied a pair of scissars, and even cut off some locks of hair from the top of his head. As soon as it was day, he found the top of his head clipt, and the hairs lying near him.

A little time afterwards, another accident of the same kind established the credit of the former. One of my young slaves was sleeping, with the rest of my slaves, in their common chamber: on a sudden, two men, in white vestments, (as the slave affirms) came through the windows, and cut off his hair, while he continued lying in bed. They returned through the windows as they came. The next day, this youth also appeared with his hair clipt, and locks of it were scattered about the room. No remarkable circumstance followed, except that I escaped any public accusation, which I must certainly have undergone, if

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DOMITIAN, in whose reign these events happened, had lived any time longer: for a libel, delivered in by CARUS, against me, was afterwards found in the emperor's cabinet.

From hence we may form this conjecture, that as it is constantly usual for persons accused to let their hair grow, this manner of cutting off the hair of my domestic servants, was a prognostic of my escape from the danger, that threatened me.

I now entreat you to exercise your learning: The subject is worthy of your close and serious consideration; nor am I totally undeserving of the benefits, that must arise from the extent of your knowledge. And although you should, as usual, argue in favour of both parts of the question; yet let me entreat you to lean more on one side, than on the other, that I may no longer remain in doubt and suspense; since I have been induced to consult you, on purpose to avoid that uncertain situation. Adieu.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

In this epistle we find a house haunted; the inhabitants frightened, and a ghost rattling his chains: Circumstances, that are constantly related to us in our infancy, and that often make such an impression upon our minds, as is extremely difficult to eradicate. To these early impressions the great credulity of PLINY is probably owing; since the most rational men of all nations have agreed in disbelieving stories of this sort, which appear only the effects of fancy, and cannot be defended from the principles of religion, reason, or philosophy. They were at first invented perhaps from a pious intention, to keep mankind in an awful reverence of heaven, and to affix a thorough belief of a future state. Among the many extravagant opinions, which, in religious matters, have been entertained in the world, the *mortality of the soul* was a doctrine, that was sufficiently prevalent in the days of TULLY, to oblige him to a declaration of his own sentiments upon that head. He says, *Neque enim assentior iis, qui hæc nuper asserere cæperunt, cum corporibus simul*

simul animos interire, atque omnia morte deleri†. “ I cannot agree with those, who have lately begun to assert, that our souls perish with our bodies, and that death destroys all our faculties.” Bold and uncommon assertions are too often received with applause; but an assertion of this kind takes away the most comfortable prospect, that human nature is capable of enjoying. It encourages the most impious practices, that can be devised; and it imprints an idea of the supreme Being, absolutely repugnant to the wisdom, benignity, and goodness, that so visibly display themselves throughout the works of the creation. It is indeed impossible to join with PLINY in the credit, which he gives to fabulous accounts of ghosts, and preternatural apparitions. On the other hand, it is equally impossible to conceive, that our soul perishes entirely, and after a severe trial of threescore, or fourscore years, moulders like our body, into dust. We perceive in ourselves, and in all our species, a natural desire of complete and perfect happiness. Every action of our lives tends to this ultimate end. Our thoughts and faculties are constantly employed to this particular purpose. We exert ambition, we pursue riches and honours, we form friendships and alliances, always with a view of possessing one certain particular situation, which exists only in our own thoughts, and cannot be found on this side of the grave. But since none of the effects of nature are formed in vain, and since all other beings, mankind excepted, enjoy benefits, sufficient and satisfactory to their natural appetites; it is far from a presumption to believe, that the ALMIGHTY cannot have implanted this natural desire so strongly in all the sons of ADAM, without having allotted a proper and agreeable satisfaction for it. That satisfaction, we must confess, is not attainable within the limits of this world. Our most reasonable inference then is to conclude, that it may be appropriated to a future state.

† TULLII *de amicitia*, cap. 3.

E P I S T L E XXVIII.

PLINY to SEPTITIUS CLARUS.

YOU say, that certain persons have complained to you, that I am beyond measure prodigal in the praises of my friends. I confess the accusation, and I even rejoice in the crime. For what is more honourable, than the error of good nature? But who are these persons, so much better versed in the knowledge of my friends, than I am? However, allowing their superior knowledge, why will they envy me in so happy a delusion? For I am certainly blessed in the high opinion, which I entertain of my friends, even although those friends may not be worthy of that opinion. Let these persons therefore transfer their malignant zeal to others. They will find many, who imagine, that in censuring their friends, they display their own judgement; but they will never persuade me to think, that I love my friends too much. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

In any future transposition of PLINY's letters, this answer to SEPTITIUS ought to be placed the first of the collection, as a frontispiece, that might prepare the reader for the several subsequent characters of particular persons, and the various acts of generosity, that abound throughout these epistles. PLINY thinks, *he cannot love his friends too much*: A noble sentiment! which he verifies upon every occasion. Such an exalted turn of thinking will be found singular and extraordinary, in all ages and among all people. And therefore the observation is perfectly just, *nec sunt parum multi, qui carpere amicos suos judicium vocant*; "that many persons
 " may be found, who imagine they display their own judgement by the severe animadversions, which they make upon
 " their friends." It must be owned, that our characters are often more deeply wounded by our sinister friends, than

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by our professed enemies. Such friends are supposed to speak from a knowledge of our errors, and a pity of our infirmities; while our avowed enemies are imagined to be influenced, in their censures, by prejudice or revenge. The former stab us in the dark; the latter wound us openly: each from the same inducement, a desire of appearing superior to us in conduct and understanding. If the philosopher lighted a candle at noon-day to find out an honest man, I am afraid, he would think much more light necessary to find out a friend, as disinterested and sincere as PLINY.

EPISTLE XXIX.

PLINY to CURTIUS MONTANUS.

YOU will laugh, and then you will be provoked; then again you will laugh, if you read a fact, which, till you have read, you cannot believe.

Not a mile upon the Tiburtine road ^a, (I observed it lately) is the monument of PALLAS, thus inscribed; THE SENATE, ON ACCOUNT OF HIS FIDELITY AND DUTY TO HIS PATRONS, DECREED HIM PRÆTORIAN MARKS OF DISTINCTION, AND FIVE MILLIONS OF SESTERCES ^b. HE CONTENTED HIMSELF WITH THE HONOURS ONLY.

I own, I am never so much surpris'd at the gifts, which are bestowed by fortune, as at the gifts, which are the effects of judgement. But this inscription has most evidently shewn me the ridicule and absurdity of honours, when thus thrown away upon mire and dirt. Honours, which this base villain had the impudence both to receive and to refuse; and, as an example of his moderation, published his refusal to posterity.

But why am I moved with indignation? It is better to laugh, lest those, who reach this height, should imagine themselves great in reality, when they are only raised, as objects of derision. Farewell.

^a The road to the city *Tibur*, sixteen miles from *Rome*.

^b *Sestertium centies quinquagies*, equal to 40364*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*

OBSERVATIONS.

PALLAS was the freedman of CLAUDIUS CÆSAR, who^c from the time of his succession to the empire, suffered himself to be governed entirely by his wives and favorites. Among the latter, NARCISSUS and PALLAS were particularly distinguished. The riches of PALLAS, like his power, were unlimited and amazing: they are spoken of by all the Roman historians. In the sixth epistle of the eighth book we shall find a farther account of this infamous decree. The rise and occasion of it is mentioned by TACITUS, in the twelfth book of his annals^d.

PLINY, in this epistle, shews a particular warmth and indignation. He even loses himself in anger, and is heated into a strain very dissimilar from his usual politeness. He mentions PALLAS as the skum of the earth; as a dunghill offspring^e; [*in hoc cœnum, in has sordes*] and he applies to him an appellation, [*ille furcifer*] that contains the utmost severity. The word *furcifer* signifies a slave, who, for punishment of some base crime, particularly theft, was obliged to carry through the city a fork or gallows upon his neck. From a passage in SÆTONIUS, this punishment of the *furca* appears to have been one of the oldest Roman institutions. The historian tells us, “that when NERO was advertised of his approaching punishment, [*more majorum*] according to the manner of the ancient Romans, he asked, what kind of punishment that expression signified? He was answered, that the criminal was to be stripped naked, and to be lashed to death with his neck fastened within a forked stick^f.”

The freedom of this letter very nearly ascertains the date of it. It must have been written after the death of DOMITIAN, either in the reign of NERVA or of TRAJAN. Although by the expression [*nuper adnotavi*] we might suppose, that PLINY had not till lately taken notice of this monument, and inscription; yet as it was placed within a mile of Rome, and in a very

^c He succeeded CALIGULA, and was the fifth emperor of Rome.

^d Cap. 53.

^e TACITUS says, CORNELIUS SCIPIO affirmed, that PALLAS was descended from the ancient kings of Arcadia. Annal. 12. cap. 53.

^f *Legitque se hostem a senatu judicatum, et queri, ut puniatur more majorum. Interrogavitque, quale id genus esset pœnæ? et cum comperisset nudi hominis cervicem inferi furcæ, &c. C. SÆT. TRANQUILLI NERO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR, cap. 49.*

public road, he must have observed it often, and many years before. But the times had reduced all prudent men to an absolute taciturnity ; their eyes and ears were rendered useless in the reign of DOMITIAN, which, like a winter's frost, locked up the noblest fruits of nature, till the sunshine of the two succeeding emperors revived every hopeful plant, and brought forward all the blessings of the spring.

PALLAS died in the eight hundred and fourteenth year of *Rome*, in the ninth year of NERO, by whom he was supposed to have been poisoned.

EPISTLE XXX.

PLINY to JULIUS GENITOR.

I AM sincerely troubled to find by your letter, that you have lost a scholar of the greatest hopes, by whose sickness and death, I am convinced, your studies have been totally interrupted ; since you are the strictest observer of all duties, and since your affection is unlimited to the persons, for whom you entertain an esteem.

The business of the city persecutes me even at this place ; for I am perpetually appointed a judge, or a referee. My husbandmen think they have a right, after my long absence, to tire out my ears with their complaints. The necessity I lie under of setting my lands is extremely troublesome, as it is so difficult a point to find out proper tenants. These are the reasons, that render my studies very precarious : however, I study sometimes ; for I employ myself both in writing and reading. But the books I read convince me, by comparison, how ill I write. However, you have given me great encouragement, by placing my treatises, in vindication of HELVIDIUS, upon a level with the oration of DEMOSTHENES against MIDIAS. While I was forming those compositions, I had indeed that oration in my hands, not with an intent to rival (for such a design had been rashness, and almost madness) but to imitate and pursue his method, as much as either the distance

distance of our abilities, his the greatest, mine the least, and the different circumstances of the cause would permit. Adieu.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

This epistle begins with an affectionate condolence to JULIUS GENITOR, upon the death of one of his pupils. If we look back to the third book ^a, we shall find the exact character of GENITOR. He was one of the most distinguished rhetoricians of the age; and was recommended by PLINY, as a proper tutor for the son of CORELLIA HISPULLA; the lady, to whom the fourteenth epistle of this book is addressed. So accomplished a preceptor must have had many scholars: but if the young gentleman, whose death gave occasion to this letter, had been the son of CORELLIA, he would certainly have been mentioned here in a more distinguished manner; PLINY interesting himself very warmly in all circumstances relating to the family of RUFUS.

As PLINY had many country houses, it is not possible to know, from which of his seats he writes this letter. He says, he had been long absent, and complains of the difficulties in setting his lands. But he gives us no traces, by which we might find out where those lands were situated.

His interruptions were evidently owing to his virtues. He was appointed an arbitrator, and a referee, because no man exceeded him in justice and integrity: and he was tormented by his farmers and husbandmen, because the sweetness of his disposition rendered him attentive and humane to complaints.

We shall find some curious particulars relating to the vindication of HELVIDIUS PRISCUS in the thirteenth epistle of the ninth book.

^a Epistle 3d.

E P I S T L E XXXI.

PLINY to CORNUTUS TERTULLUS.

CLAUDIUS POLLIO desires your friendship. I think him worthy of it; first, because he desires it; then again, because he loves you; for scarce any man seeks the friendship of another, to whom his own affections are not previously inclined. In other respects

he is a man of uprightness, sincerity, and temper; he is also, if it be possible, modest to a fault. When we were in the army together, I did not look upon him in the single light of my fellow soldier: He commanded a wing consisting of one thousand men: I was ordered by the consular legate to examine into the state and condition of the wings and cohorts. I discovered many instances in several officers of abominable neglect and avarice; but in the conduct of POLLIO, I found the utmost diligence, and the greatest integrity.

He was afterwards promoted to some of the most considerable employments in the revenue: he remained there as incorruptible as ever, not in the least altered from his accustomed abstemious disposition. He was never made proud by his prosperity; nor ever lost the constant and commendable character of humanity in the duties of his various posts: and he went through the fatigues of public business with the same firmness of mind, that he now shews in his retirement. During a little time indeed, to his great honour, he quitted his retreat; our friend CORELLIUS^b having engaged him, as his assistant, in purchasing and dividing the lands, which the emperor NERVA bestowed most generously upon the people. What more honourable circumstance could attend his character, than to be thus particularly chosen, by so great a man, in preference of so many others?

You will be able to judge of his devotion and sincerity to his friends, by the many legacies he has received from them; tokens of their last thoughts in his favour. As he was remembered in the will of MUSONIUS BASSUS, one of our most considerable citizens; and as he cultivates literature, as much as all other excellent arts; he has published in a grateful view of preserving and extending the memory of BASSUS, a treatise upon his life. The action itself is

^b CORELLIUS RUFUS, the father of CORELLIA HISPULLA. See the account of his death in the 12th ep. of book 1. excel-

excellent, and is still more worthy of applause, as it is uncommon; for most men now remember the deceased, only in a stile of complaint. Embrace this man, who is (I repeat it) most desirous of your friendship: take him, nay invite him, and esteem him in such a manner, as if you owed him acknowledgments: for, in the duties of friendship, the first beginner is not only to be obliged, but to be rewarded. Adieu.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

The stile of this epistle, in the original, is very different from that purity of language, which was the ornament of the Augustan age. It is burdened and entangled with parentheses, The ideas are crowded and confused. Various hints and circumstances break in upon the first design, the recommendation and character of CLAUDIUS POLLIO. It is scarce possible to invent a more embarrassed sentence, than where PLINY, speaking of POLLIO, says, *idem quam reverenter, quam fideliter amicos colat, multorum supremis judiciis, in his MUSONII BASSI, gravissimi civis, credere potes, cujus memoriam tam grata prædicatione prorogat et extendit, ut librum de vita ejus (nam studia quoque, sicut alias artes bonas, veneratur) ediderit*: “By
“ the last thoughts of many persons, especially of MUSONIUS
“ BASSUS, a citizen of worth and importance, you may be
“ induced to believe with what respect and fidelity he pre-
“ served his friendships. The memory of BASSUS was so
“ particularly dear to him, that he published a book of the
“ life of MUSONIUS BASSUS, willing (as he is a lover of
“ letters and all good arts) to extend the fame of his friend,
“ by a grateful panegyric.”

As no compositions are faultless, and as antiquity itself, however venerable, cannot stamp perfection; the blemishes and the beauties of every author ought to be equally and ingenuously avowed.

E P I S T L E XXXII.

PLINY to FABATUS, his wife's grandfather.

I AM much pleased, that the arrival of my friend
TYRO was so agreeable to you. But I am chiefly
L 4 overjoyed

overjoyed to find by your letter, that the presence of the proconsul allowed you an opportunity of granting liberty to several of your slaves; for I am desirous, that our country should be enlarged by all methods, but chiefly by the increase of citizens; because that circumstance is the strongest support of cities. You add, that you and I have both been honoured, upon this occasion, with thanks and praise. This is another subject of joy, but not out of an ambitious principle. For, as XENOPHON says, "it is sweet to hear the sound of praise;" especially when you are conscious, that you deserve it. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

Four letters in this book are extant to FABATUS[§]. The first is concerning some lands sold by HERMES, the freedman of PLINY, to CORELLIA HISPULLA, at an under rate. The other three inform us, that CALESTRIUS TYRO, proconsul of *Andalusia*, at the request of PLINY, visited FABATUS at his country seat near *Pavia* in the *Milanese*; and there, in his magisterial capacity, perfected the liberty of several domestics belonging to the good old man.

Our author shews his usual joy and satisfaction in receiving that incense of praise, to which his actions constantly entitled him: but we are not informed, upon what particular account he was at this time applauded, unless, as is probable, the benignity of FABATUS to these manumised servants was by the example, and at the instigation of PLINY.

[§] The 11th, the 16th, the 23d, and the 32d.

EPISTLE XXXIII.

PLINY to CORNELIUS TACITUS.

I Foresee, nor am I deceived by the spirit of false prophecy, that your histories must be immortal. I will act ingenuously, and own, that for that reason I wish to be inserted in them. For, if we are solicitous to procure our pictures, by the best artist; ought we not

not also to desire, that such an historian, as you are, might describe our actions? I shall therefore lay before you a particular affair, which cannot have escaped your notice, as it is entered in the public registers: however, I shall relate it, that you may know how much delighted I must be, if my behaviour in this instance, where the honour was heightened by the impending danger, should be celebrated by the strength of your genius, and the credit of your testimony.

The senate appointed me, jointly with HERENNIUS SENEPIO, to be an advocate for the province of *Bætica* against BÆBIUS MASSA. He was found guilty, and the senate passed sentence, that his goods should be kept for the use of the public. SENEPIO came to me upon a day when the consuls were at leisure to hear petitions, and said, "We were unanimous in prosecuting the accusation enjoined us; let us now, with the same unanimity, go to the consuls, and desire, that they would not suffer the persons, to whose custody the goods of MASSA were committed, to embezzle them." I answered, "As we were appointed advocates by the senate, consider, whether you do not think us absolutely discharged from that appointment, since the senate has passed sentence in the cause." To which SENEPIO replied, "You may act as you please, since you have no attachments to that province, except such as arise from your late excellent service to it; but I have been questor of the province, and was born there." I then replied, "If you are fixed, and determined upon the point, I will follow you; that if any resentment should be the consequence of this attempt, it may not fall upon you alone." We went to the consuls; SENEPIO said all, that was pertinent to the affair; and I added some words to the same purpose. We had scarce finished, when MASSA, complaining, that SENEPIO had exceeded the duty of an advocate, and had discovered the bitterness of an enemy,

PLINY'S EPISTLES.

enemy, accused him of cruelty. This step produced a general consternation. But I said, "I fear, most excellent consuls, that MASSA, by his silence, has insinuated, that I have been guilty of prevarication; because he has not accused me also." This speech was immediately received with great applause, and was much and frequently commended afterwards. Even our emperor NERVA (for, although a private man, he was diligent in attending causes, when the public welfare was concerned) wrote to me in the highest terms, congratulating not me only, but the present age (such are the expressions of his letter) in producing an example parallel to the ancients.

However worthy these actions may be in themselves, they will appear in a more conspicuous, more excellent, and more extensive light by your representation. But in the description, I by no means require you to add the least circumstance; for history ought not to transgress against truth; and truth is sufficient to display the excellence of honourable actions. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

In reading this epistle, the request of TULLY to LUCCEIUS will immediately occur; and PLINY will appear less unreasonably ambitious than CICERO.

Auguror, nec me fallit augurium, historias tuas immortales futuras: "I prophesy, and I am sure I prophesy right, that your history will be immortal." From former epistles to TACITUS, especially the twentieth of this book, we may remember, that PLINY supervised all the writings of that historian. This prophecy therefore is the result of judgment. The works of TACITUS must remain of equal duration with the Latin language. It is only to be wished they were as perfect, as they are immortal; especially as no traces of PLINY are to be found, either in the annals or the history.

The occurrences here mentioned happened in the reign of DOMITIAN. Upon a retrospect of the third epistle of the fourth

fourth book, we may observe, that in consequence of his behaviour as an advocate, PLINY was again employed by the ANDALUSIANS, at a time when he was præfect of the treasury. He enjoyed that office in the second year of NERVA, and the eight hundred and forty ninth year of Rome.

¶ *Iterum me jam præsentem advocatum postulaverunt, implorantes fidem meam, quam essent contra MASSAM BÆBIUM experti, &c.* LONGOLII edit. page 189.

The character of BÆBIUS MASSA will be found in TACITUS, Histor. lib. 4. cap. 50. His riches are mentioned by MARTIAL, lib. 12. epigram. 29. His power is hinted at by JUVENAL, satir. 1. v. 35.

The END of the SEVENTH BOOK.





Wale invt.

Boissieu f.

PLINY'S EPISTLES.

BOOK VIII.

EPISTLE I.

PLINY to SEPTITIUS CLARUS.

I Performed my journey happily. I must except however the indisposition, which some of my servants contracted, by the excessive heats; particularly ENCOLPIUS: the passages into his lungs being irritated by the dust, he has coughed up blood. This is the servant, who used to read to me, and employ not only my serious, but my facetious hours. What a misfortune must it be to him, and what a disappointment to me, should he, whose chief accomplishment is his study, be rendered incapable of studying? Who will read, like him, my performances?
Who

Who will esteem them so much? or to whose voice will my ears be so perfectly reconciled?

But the Gods promise us happy events: the blood is stopped; his pain is relieved. Besides, he is abstemious; we are careful, and the physicians are diligent. Add to this the wholesome situation, the retirement, and the quiet; all which are so many assurances of an equal portion of health and tranquillity. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

It is impossible to avoid lamenting, even again and again, that the epistles of PLINY are so injudiciously separated, as that neither persons nor facts can be recollected, merely by their improper distance from each other. However trifling many of these letters may be, they would at least appear more entertaining, if the circumstances belonging to each particular person were so placed, as to run on in a succession, and to discover at once every remark, opinion, or variation, that is made by the author upon the same subject. In this epistle we find an account of ENCOLPIUS, as one of the best readers in the world: *Quis deinde meos libellos sic leget? Quem aures meæ sic sequentur?* "Who will equal him in reading to me my works? or to whom will my ears attend with equal satisfaction?" In the thirty fourth epistle of the ninth book he is mentioned as a bad reader of poetry; a novice in the harmony of verse. PLINY there says, *est enim tam novus lector, quam ego poeta.* This letter ought to have been placed subsequent to the thirty fourth of the ninth book, by which position we might at least know, that ENCOLPIUS had acquired a very great improvement in the art of reading.

Exasperatis faucibus pulvere, sanguinem rejecit. The complaint of ENCOLPIUS was an *hæmoptoë*, or coughing of blood from the lungs. His blood was agitated by the excessive heats of the journey; and his pulmonary vessels were so irritated by the dust, as to produce a cough, and a rupture of some of those vessels.

Resedit dolor. The word *dolor* refers to a pain in his breast, which constantly attends this distemper, and is often followed by a consumption. But as this illness was owing to an accidental cause, more than to any defect in his constitution, ENCOLPIUS, in all probability, recovered.

EPISTLE

E P I S T L E II.

P L I N Y *to* C A L V I S I U S .

SOME people go to their estates to gain money : I go there to lose it. I had sold my vintage to certain merchants, who had been contending to buy it. The price, that the grapes then bore, and which they were likely to bear, tempted them. They were deceived in their expectation. To remit to them in general an equal proportion of their purchase money, was sufficiently expedient, but not sufficiently just. The duty of doing justice to me seems as indispensable in private, as in public transactions, in little matters, as in great ; in our own affairs, as in the affairs of others. If punishments for offences should be equal, rewards for equity should be the same. Therefore, that none of these purchasers should depart from me without some consideration, I remitted to all, and to each particular person, an eighth part of the price he was to give. When I had done this, I took aside such amongst them, who had made the largest contracts. For, as they had been of the chiefest service to me, so was their loss by far the most considerable. Therefore, to those, who had bought more than the amount of ten thousand sesterces^c, I forgave a tenth part of the sum above the ten thousand, as an additional remission to the eighth part, which I had already given in common, and, as it were, a public gift.

I am afraid I have not explained myself sufficiently ; let me farther open to you the calculation. For example, if the purchase, made by any particular merchant, amounted to fifteen thousand sesterces^d, he received back the eighth of fifteen thousand and the

^c Equal in English money to 80 *l.* 14 *s.* 7 *d.*

^d Equal to 121 *l.* 1 *s.* 10 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$.

tenth

tenth of five thousand more *. Besides, as some of the contractors had made larger payments, others smaller, others none at all, I did not think it just, that equal allowances should be made to all, but only in proportion to the several sums they had advanced. Again therefore, to those, who had paid me, I remitted a tenth. Thus I made every man proper allowances according to his merit, and obliged him, by this act of generosity, not only to deal with me for the future, but to make ready payments.

This equitable, or if you will, this easy method of adjusting matters has been a considerable loss to me: but it was well worth that expence. For throughout the whole country, both the novelty of the remission, and the manner of it, is applauded. And even those, whose partition was not so great as that of others, but whom I treated, by distinct and gradual proportions, especially if they were of the better and more considerate sort, went from me the more obliged, as they found, that it was not by me,

The wicked and the good were honoured both alike †.
Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This epistle is mentioned by Monsieur ROLLIN, in his *Histoire Ancienne*, among the instances of PLINY's great generosity. As such indeed it will always appear. But the trumpet of fame is blown so loudly by PLINY himself, and the tune is so often repeated, that it must sound harsh and tedious to an impartial ear. The same story told in a few words, without the many minute circumstances, that are inserted in this letter, would have captivated posterity in a much more sensible manner, than the method, which PLINY has pursued. The man, who is avaricious of fame, should act like the man, who is avaricious of money: let him not boast of the acquisitions, which

* The total of which amounts to 19*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$.

† Vide HOMERI Iliad. lib. x. γ . 319.

he has secured in his coffers, and the world will soon begin to speak largely of his riches, although, in the true spirit of avarice, he should be perpetually throwing out insinuations of poverty and distress.

E P I S T L E III.

P L I N Y to S P A R S U S.

YOU hint, that the book, which I lately sent to you, of all my works, pleases you most. A certain friend of mine, a man of great learning, is of the same opinion. These circumstances are the stronger inducements, why I should believe neither of you to be mistaken; because it is not credible, that you should both be deceived; and because I am willing to flatter myself in that particular.

Whatever piece I transmit to you latest, I am desirous should appear to you still the most perfect. And therefore I am more fond of a certain oration, which I have just now published, than I am of the book, which you mention. I intend to send you that oration, as soon as I can find a safe carrier.

I fear I have raised your expectations to a degree, that the speech itself will not answer. However expect it as a performance, that may, and perhaps it will, please you. Adieu.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

Almost every letter from PLINY, treating of his works, bears evident marks of vanity. The face of this epistle carries in it those particular features. In extenuation of such a blemish, it can be only said, that we look upon this sort of presumption with a severer eye, than it was ever beheld by the ancient Romans. Our religion perhaps first introduced humility. And yet we oftner publicly declare, than privately condemn ourselves, as *unprofitable servants*. Our method of assuming a high reputation, and grasping at personal glory, is not by extolling our own works, but by depreciating the

works of others. Censure, in general, proceeds either from envy, or vanity. It would willingly seem the effect of a nice judgement; but it is too frequently the offspring of a malicious rage. We are not therefore less vain, but more artful, than our predecessors. Our ends and designs are the same. We differ only in the method of fulfilling them.

PLINY is certainly in an error, when he raises the expectations of SPARSUS ^a to an immoderate height. This error is readily confessed by him, and yet he pursues it. An instance, that self-love will make us wade through the deepest roads of absurdity.

^a This is the second and last letter to SPARSUS; the first is the fifth epistle of the fourth book.

EPISTLE IV.

PLINY to CANINIUS RUFUS.

YOU cannot do better, than in preparing materials for the history of the Dacian war. What subject can be more recent, more copious, more extended, more poetical, and, although all truth, more like a fable?

You will describe the course of vast rivers turned into new channels, new bridges erected over rivers, camps fixed upon the steepest mountains; a king, superior to all diffidence, driven out of his palace, and deprived of life. You will farther mention two triumphs for a double victory, the first of which was gained over a people, till then thought invincible, and who have been entirely subdued by the last.

There is one, and indeed it is the greatest difficulty, to equal by description such exploits: Your own great genius, which seems to rise higher, according to the more elevated subjects you describe, is scarce sufficient to the task. There will be some labour too in making the barbarous and savage names, especially that of the king himself, run smoothly in Greek verse. But there is nothing, which art and diligence will not mitigate,

mitigate, if it cannot conquer. Besides if permission was granted to HOMER, to contract, extend, and alter words, naturally soft, and originally Greek, in order to give a more easy flow to his verses; why may not you be bold enough to assume the same licence, since it is not matter of nicety, but of necessity?

As soon then as you have invoked the Gods, according to the custom of the poets, and among those Gods, that Deity^b, whose empire, whose actions, and whose counsels you intend to celebrate, let your ropes go, spread your sails, and put forward, now, if ever, with your whole strength of genius. When I am writing to a poet, why should I not write in a poetical style?

Now let me extort from you this promise, that you will send me the very first part of your poems, as soon as it is compleated; nay, even before it is compleated. It will then be new, unformed, and, as it were, just born. You will answer, "Parcels cannot give the same delight as the whole; nor can an unfinished poem please in the same degree, as if it were finished." This I know; and therefore I shall esteem them, only as works begun: I shall look upon them as distinct members; they shall be concealed in my study, till they receive the last finishing strokes from your file.

Suffer me to enjoy this particular token of your friendship, additional to those, which I have already received; that I may know such secrets, as you will entrust to no other person. In a word, it is possible that I may shew greater approbation and applause of your writings, when they are sent to me in less haste, and after deeper consideration; but my praise, and esteem of you, will be the greater, according to the expedition and incorrectness, with which you send them. Adieu.

^bTRAJAN.

M 2

O B S E R-

OBSERVATIONS.

The wars of TRAJAN in *Dacia* afforded noble materials for an epic poem. His military character was most remarkably distinguished. He had been bred up in the camp from his childhood: and upon his accession to the empire, he resolved, that the Romans should resume their former glory, and should again become the most powerful people in the world.

DOMITIAN had concluded an ignominious peace with the *Daci*: he had consented to pay a yearly tribute to that nation. TRAJAN refused to submit to such base concessions; and, when he found himself perfectly established upon the imperial throne, the first objects of his indignation were the people of *Dacia*. He entered their territories with a very numerous army, and having forced them to a battle, he gained, not without much slaughter of his own troops, a very important victory over his enemies. He pursued every advantageous circumstance of this conquest, and with great spirit and perseverance followed the *Daci*, who were still flying before him, to a very near approach of *Zermizegethusa*, (an inharmonious name for verse) their metropolis. DECEBALUS, the King of *Dacia*, was alarmed at the danger of his capital, and immediately sent ambassadors to the conqueror, to accept of such terms of peace, as should be offered. The articles were adjusted, and TRAJAN returned to *Rome*; where he was received with all the honours of a triumph, and was soon after saluted by the surname of DACICUS.

A consequential circumstance of this victory might allow room for true panegyric, in the spirit of a poetical genius. DION informs us, such number of Romans were hurt in the battle, that linen was wanting to bind up their wounds. The emperor tore his robes, and bestowed his own garments to the use and relief of the wounded. So remarkable an instance of generous humanity deserved the utmost dignity of verse. It demanded the fire of LUCAN, and the judgement of VIRGIL.

By the character of CANINIUS, genteely glanced at [*etiam tuo ingenio, &c.*] in this epistle, we have room to suppose him a poet, equal to the work. But the poem itself, if ever completed, is buried amidst the ruins of antiquity.

Super

Saper hæc actos his triumphos: “Add to this a celebration of two triumphs.” DECEBALUS, impatient of remaining under the articles of a peace, which his late dangerous situation had extorted from him, took the earliest opportunity of breaking his faith with *Rome*. He raised men, provided arms, entertained deserters, and entered into new alliances against the Romans. TRAJAN, in consequence of these offensive preparations, after the senate had declared DECEBALUS a public enemy, marched into *Dacia*, and made an entire conquest of that kingdom. The fate of DECEBALUS ^c is told us in this epistle, *pulsus regiâ, pulsus etiam vitâ regem*: “He was driven out of his kingdom, and lost his life.” The second triumph of TRAJAN was more splendid than the first, as his victory was more compleat. *Quorum alter ex invicta gente primus, alter novissimus fuit*: “The first of which victories was over a nation never before conquered, the other was a final and decisive conquest.” *Dacia* ^d was reduced to a Roman province, in which many colonies were planted, all composed of the least opulent citizens of *Rome*, and other towns of *Italy*; an instance of the wisdom and policy of TRAJAN’s reign.

Certain incidents, which we find in DION, relating to the Dacian war, must have appeared excellent episodes in an epic poem; as they point out the true Roman spirit in the strongest manner. LONGINUS, one of the chief commanders among the Romans, and one of the chief favorites of TRAJAN, having been treacherously made prisoner by DECEBALUS, poisoned himself, lest his imperial master might submit to disadvantageous terms of peace, with a view of securing the life and liberty of so valuable an officer. A captain of horse being wounded, was carried to his tent to be dressed; the wound, upon examination, proved incurable: but as his strength was not yet exhausted, he returned to the battle, and fought with great bravery, and no less success, to the last moment, that he was able to sit upon his horse, or sustain a sword in his hand.

^c DION CASSIUS says, DECEBALUS, seeing his metropolis taken, and all his dominions utterly subdued, put an end to his own life. His head was sent to *Rome*.

^d The ancient *Dacia* contained the modern *Transilvania*, *Wallachia*, and some other neighbouring countries.

Actions of this kind were fine materials for the fabric, which CANINIUS intended to raise. But above all, the character of the emperor himself afforded a foundation, that, like the walls of *Troy*, seemed to require celestial hands to finish the superstructure.

EPISTLE V.

PLINY to DUCENNIUS GEMINUS.

OUR friend MACRINUS has received a heavy wound. He has lost his wife: A most exemplary woman: She would have appeared such, even among our ancestors. He lived with her nine and thirty years, without the least peevishness, or disagreement. How shall we weigh the high regard she paid her husband, when she deserved the highest regard herself? How many, and how great virtues were collected from different ages, and united in her person! MACRINUS has indeed this solid comfort, that he was so long in possession of such a blessing. But then again from that very cause, since he has now lost her, his affliction must still be greater. For the grief of losing a benefit is encreased by having once enjoyed it. I am therefore in great anxiety for so dear a friend, until he shall be able to admit of relaxation to his pain, and healing medicines to such a wound: A circumstance, which can scarce be effected, but by necessity of submission, length of time, and satiety of grief. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The last sentence of this epistle, *necessitas ipsa, et dies longa, et satietas doloris*, is extremely fine, and equally famous. We find it often quoted upon these melancholy occasions.

The death of an affectionate wife is indeed a very deep affliction! A friend of yours, my dear CHARLES, had once that misfortune. It pleased heaven afterwards to repair the

the loss: But, in memory of so excellent a lady, suffer me to give you his thoughts of her in the following verses:

If purest virtue, sense refin'd in youth,
Religious wisdom, and a love of truth,
A mind, that knew no thought ignobly mean;
A temper sweetly chearful, yet serene;
A breast, that glow'd with those immortal fires,
Which godlike charity alone inspires:
If these could lengthen fate's tremendous doom,
And snatch one moment from the gaping tomb,
Death had relenting thrown his dart aside,
And HARRIOT, oh! my HARRIOT, had not died.

E P I S T L E VI.

PLINY to CURTIUS MONTANUS.

YOU must already have known by my last letter*, that I had lately taken notice of the following particular inscription upon the monument of PALLAS.

The senate, on account of his fidelity, and duty to his patrons, decreed him prætorian marks of distinction, and five millions of sesterces. He contented himself with the honour only.

Afterwards I thought it worth my pains to look for the decree† itself. I have found it so very extraordinary, and boundless, that the monumental inscription, proud as it is to the highest degree, seems modest and even humble.

Let our ancestors assemble, I will not say the *Africani*, the *Achaici*, or the *Numantini*, but those of a nearer age, the *Marii*, the *Syllæ*, the *Pompeii*, (for I will go no higher) and let them join together their several praises; they will still fall short of those bestowed upon PALLAS. Shall I think, that the per-

* Book 7. ep. 20. See the observations upon that epistle.

† S. C. *Senatus Consultum*. The act of Senate.

sons, who established this decree, were actuated by a spirit of raillery, or of slavery? I should pronounce it an act of merriment, were such a jocular disposition suitable to the senate of *Rome*. Must I therefore call them slaves? But no man surely can be such a slave, as to stoop to these servilities. Was it ambition then, and the spirit of preferment? But who could be so deprived of reason, as, at the expence of his own honour, and the honour of the republic, to desire preferment in a city, where the advantage of the most flourishing situation was only a greater ability of paying adulation to PALLAS?

I omit, that *prætorian honours were offered to PALLAS, a slave; because they were offered by slaves. I omit, that their opinion was, that he should not only be entreated, but even compelled to wear the gold rings; because, if a Roman, of prætorian dignity, had worn iron rings, it would have been against the majesty of the senate. These are trifles, and may pass unnoticed. But be it remembered, that in the name of PALLAS, (nor since that time has the senate-house been expiated) I say, in the name of PALLAS, the senate returned thanks to CÆSAR, that he had made honourable mention to them of his freedman; and had given them the power of shewing their benevolent regards to that person. What greater acquisition of glory could accrue to the senate, than that they had made evident their utmost gratitude to PALLAS?*

It is added, that PALLAS, to whom all degrees of people, according to their several abilities, must confess themselves obliged, ought to enjoy the fruits of his remarkable integrity, and his no less remarkable industry. You would from hence be induced to believe, that he had extended the bounds of the empire, and had preserved the army of the republic.

It is farther added, that *the senate and people of Rome could never find a more proper occasion of exerting their liberality, than by adding to the wealth of so very disinterested*

interested and faithful a guardian of the emperor's finances.

Here then observe the wish of the senate, the chief joy of the people and the most proper instance of liberality all accomplished, if the riches of PALLAS were encreased, by the diminution of the public treasures.

Now hear what follows; that *the senate were of opinion, that five millions of sesterces should be given to him out of the treasury. And, that as his own inclinations and dispositions were superior to all pecuniary desires, so they thought themselves obliged to entreat the public father of the state, to compel him to a compliance with the senate.*

One circumstance was still wanting; that they should have addressed PALLAS in the name of the public, and that the senate itself should have entreated his indulgence of their request; that upon his most haughty refusal, CÆSAR should have been appointed their advocate, to prevail upon him not to despise their offer of five millions of sesterces.

PALLAS rejected the offer: nor could he have acted otherwise. And yet his refusal was more arrogant, than if he had accepted the money. Nevertheless the senate, in a stile of complaint, loaded him with praises upon the occasion: the words are these.

And whereas our most excellent emperor, the public father of the state, having been entreated by PALLAS, that he would be pleased to remit that part of the senatorial decree, by which PALLAS was to receive five millions of sesterces out of the treasury; the senate are of opinion, that the said sum of money ought to have been deservedly, as it was liberally bestowed by them upon PALLAS, among the other honours, which were due to his integrity, and discretion. Nevertheless the senate, desirous to be obedient to the will of the emperor, whom they think it their duty not in any instance to oppose, are resolved to submit to him in this particular.

Figure

Figure to yourself PALLAS, giving his negative voice, as it were, to a decree of the senate ; moderating his own honours ; refusing five millions of sesterces, as too great a present ; and accepting prætorian dignities, as the lesser gift. Imagine CÆSAR, in the face of the senate, complying with the entreaties, or rather with the commands of his freedman : for, when a freedman dares to petition his patron in the senate, it is not a petition, it is a command.

Imagine the senate most avowedly declaring their opinion, and persisting as they began, that, except in obedience to the emperor, to whose pleasure they thought it their duty in every instance to submit, they still looked upon the merits of PALLAS to be such, as required their most free gift of that sum of money among his other honours. So that, in order to hinder PALLAS from taking out of the treasury the five millions of sesterces, his own modesty was as necessary, as the obedience of the senate, who, if in any instance they had thought it lawful to have disobeyed the emperor, would have been disobedient upon this occasion. Do you suppose here is an end ? Stay a little, and hear more of the decree.

And whereas it may be of public service, to make known the great benignity of the emperor, in commending and rewarding merit, and particularly to publish that benign disposition in places, where the persons entrusted with the affairs of state may be incited to imitate the most acknowledged fidelity, and virtue of PALLAS, and may be warmed into emulation by the example of his integrity: be it decreed, that the emperor's speech pronounced in senate, on the fourth of the calends of last February^a, and the senatorial decrees, in consequence of the affairs then debated, shall be engraven upon tablets of brass, and those tablets shall be affixed near the statue of the emperor JULIUS in armour.

^a January the 28th.

The senate-house seemed too little to contain so ignominious a decree: the most frequented place in *Rome* was made choice of for these inscriptions; where they might be read by the present and future ages. It was resolved, that all the honours destined to a most arrogant slave should be engraven upon brass; those honours, which he had rejected, and those also, which, as far as depended upon the senators, he must have enjoyed. The prætorian honours of PALLAS are cut and engraven upon public and eternal monuments, in the same manner, as if they were ancient treaties or sacred laws. Such was, I know not what to call it, the ***** of the emperor, of the senate, and of PALLAS himself. They were all desirous, that PALLAS should testify his insolence, CÆSAR his patience, the senate their humility, in the eyes of the whole world. They were not ashamed to offer a treason for this baseness, a most excellent, and a most admirable reason; that by the example of the rewards bestowed upon PALLAS, others might be incited to an emulation of his manners. Thus cheap were honours; even those, which PALLAS did not think fit to disdain. Men however of a noble extraction were found solicitous, and desirous of gratifications, which seemed given only to a freedman, and promised only to slaves.

How happy am I, not to have lived in those times! They make me blush, as if I had been then alive. I am certain your sentiments are the same. I know your disposition sensible and ingenuous. From thence therefore you will more easily imagine, (although in some places, perhaps, I have been carried forward by indignation, beyond the bounds of a letter) that I have rather complained too little, than too much. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This epistle contains the most servile decree, that was ever passed in the senate of *Rome*. TACITUS gives us a very particular account of it in his *Annals* ^g. It is difficult to determine, whether the depravity of the senate exceeded the meanness of the emperor, or whether the artifice of the freedman was not superior to both. At the time when PALLAS refused the forty thousand odd hundred pounds, he had amassed together wealth equivalent to seven millions sterling. The additional sum offered was small, but the honour of refusing it was great. Ornaments, not money, were the present objects of his ambition: and therefore he seemed modestly to decline five millions of sesterces, that he might more boldly seat himself in the curule chair.

The prætorship was the second office of dignity in *Rome*. The *Prætores* were called the *collegæ consulum*. The first of them, SPURIUS FURIUS ^h, was created as an assistant to the consuls in the administration of justice. The exterior ensigns of this office, all which were decreed to PALLAS, were the robe called *prætecta* ⁱ, the *fella curulis*, and a guard of six lictors. The prætorship was originally confined to a single magistrate. In the reign of TIBERIUS the prætors were twelve in number. In the reign of CLAUDIUS they were eighteen.

Non exhortandum modo, verum etiam compellendum ad usum aureorum annulorum: "PALLAS was not only entreated, but " even compelled to wear the gold rings." PLINY the elder ^k has a long dissertation upon rings. He begins it by this remarkable aphorism, *pestimum vitæ scelus fecit, qui id primus induit digitis*: " the man, who first put gold [rings] " upon his fingers, committed one of the most wicked actions, that was ever done." In the days of that historian, the Romans were arrived at such a height of luxury in this particular, that as the same author observes, they loaded,

^g TACIT. *Annal.* lib. 12. cap. 53.

^h Vide LIVII lib. 7.

ⁱ The *prætecta* was a long white robe, edged with a purple border. The office of prætor was annual; but if the magistrate had discharged his duty with honour, he had the privilege of wearing the *prætecta* during his life.

^k Lib. 33.

rather than adorned, their fingers with rings. The *annuli honorarii* [gold rings] were at first instituted and publicly presented, as tokens of dignity to ambassadors, who were employed by the senate in foreign negotiations. They were afterwards worn by senators, and knights, and they were still continued as distinguishing marks of the highest officers of state. So that, with the other prætorian ornaments, PALLAS was also to wear the prætorian rings.

Erat contra majestatem senatus, si ferreis prætorius uteretur : "If a prætor should wear iron rings, the majesty of the senate was degraded." The iron rings were now only badges for slaves. In the commencement of the republic, they were rewards for valour, and were worn by the chief Romans, as the properest embellishments of a warlike nation. They were constantly preserved in families from father to son, and were esteemed preferable to rings of a richer metal, and a higher valuation.

Honores fastidiosissimi mancipii : "Honours bestowed upon a most arrogant vassal." The temper of PALLAS was haughty and imperious. TACITUS¹ gives an instance of it in the reign of NERO. An accusation had been brought against PALLAS and BURRHUS, in which they were charged with a design of advancing CORNELIUS SYLLA to the empire. When the accuser, PÆTUS, named the freedmen of PALLAS, as accomplices with their master in the plot, PALLAS answered, "that in his own house he never conversed with his freedmen, except by a nod, or a motion of his hand: or, if a farther explanation was necessary, he put his orders in writing, that he might not enter into conversation with his domestics." *Nec tam grata PALLANTIS innocentia, quam gravis superbia fuit*, says the same historian: "The innocence of PALLAS was a circumstance, that gave much less pleasure than his arrogance gave disgust."

The reflexions in this letter, upon the senatorial decree in favour of PALLAS, are not less severe, than those, which PLINY has vented in the twenty ninth epistle of the seventh book; but they are dictated in a more agreeable manner. In this letter PLINY has avoided certain invectives, that rather dishonour the person, by whom they are pronounced, than hurt the person, against whom they are aimed. Ele-

gant expressions, like the soft feathers of an arrow, help to wound deeper, and to carry their dart a greater length, than any other missive weapon can be conveyed. The two epistles are extremely curious, and ought not to have been separated.

EPISTLE VII.

PLINY to CORNELIUS TACITUS.

YOU^m have sent me a book, not as if it were sent from one preceptor to another, or from one disciple to another, although you write in that strain; but as a master to his pupil; for you are the master, and I am the scholar: and therefore upon this occasion you call me back to school, while I was prolonging the Saturnalia.

Could I have spoken more figuratively, or proved more plainly, than in this manner, that I am not only unworthy of being your master, but even of being your disciple? However I will assume the part of a master, and will exercise that right over your book, which you have allowed me. I shall take the greater liberty, as I have no intentions in the interval, of sending you any of my performances. In such a case you might be amply revenged. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

This epistle, like all others to TACITUS, shews the easy familiarity, that subsisted between him and PLINY; but it affords no matter of curiosity, or entertainment. It is a letter from one friend to another, upon the supervisal of a book, the contents of which are not mentioned.

Num potui longius hyperbaton facere? “Could I possibly have found out a more embarrassed preface?” *Hyper-*

^m In the original, the beginning of this letter is loaded with parentheses; but there is not the least reason to retain them; especially as they too often entangle the most easy sentences.

baton is a figure of speech, wherein words are transposed from their grammatical order; nor can they be more transposed, than in the beginning of this short address to TACITUS.

How unluckily and perverse a fate has attended PLINY as an author! His trifling compositions, such as this letter, are preserved entire: his important works, such as history, or biography, are utterly lost.

E P I S T L E VIII.

PLINY to VOCONIUS ROMANUS.

HAVE you seen the Clitumnean spring? I believe not; otherwise I should have heard you mention it. If you have not, go thither as soon as possible. I saw it yesterday, and wish I had seen it sooner.

A dark and shady wood of old cypress trees stands upon a small hill; under which a spring makes a passage, and breaks out in many branches, all of different sizes. And having issued forth in this manner, it forms itself into a large basin of water, so very clear and transparent, that you may number any pieces of money, and any shining little pebbles, which are thrown in. From hence, not by the declivity of the place, but by the force and weight of the water, it is driven forwards. Here it appears a fountain, and there immediately a very noble river, fit even to receive large vessels, that pass backwards and forwards, according as they are bound, one way or another: the current is so strong, that while the boat glides with the stream, there is no necessity for oars; all is even as plain ground: but oars and long poles are scarce sufficient in returning against the stream. It is very pleasant to those, who row, merely for amusement and diversion, to vary their entertainment, by going easily with the current, and returning laboriously against it. The banks are covered
with

with ash, and with poplar; which are again reflected by the clearness of the stream, so as to seem growing at the bottom of the river, and so distinctly as to be numbered. The water is as cold as snow, and the colour of it is as white. Adjoining is an old and awful temple. The god CLITUMNUS appears standing clothed and adorned with the *prætecta*. The oracles delivered shew the god propitious and prophetic. There are little temples scattered up and down, in every one of which is the statue of the deity. Each has a distinct worship, and a particular name: some of the springs are held in religious veneration. For besides the original, which seems, as it were, the parent of the rest, there are again less springs divided from the chief source. They mix with the river, over which a bridge terminates the sacred from the profane places. Above the bridge you are permitted only to go in boats; below it you are licensed to swim. The people of *Hispellum* furnish baths, and even lodgings at the public expence. This district was assigned to them, as a present from the emperor AUGUSTUS. The pleasantness of the river has tempted several inhabitants to build small houses upon its banks. In a word, every object there will give you delight; for you may even study, by reading many praises of the spring itself, and of the tutelar god, inscribed by various authors upon all the columns, and all the walls. Many of these performances you will commend; others of them you will laugh at. No, your laughter will be curbed by your humanity. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

There is a sufficient resemblance in the real and in the fabulous account of CLITUMNUS, to put us in mind of St. WINIFRED'S well in *Wales*. The waters of each are equally rapid. The holy-well in *Flintshire* turns three mills within a furlong of the original source. The spring in *Umbria* is, according to PLINY, *fons adhuc, et jam amplissimum flumen*:

men: "A small fountain at first, and immediately afterwards
 "an extensive river." The words *patescit purus et vitreus*,
 is an applicable motto to both the streams. The old vene-
 rable temple of CLITUMNUS bears a parallel to the beauti-
 ful gothic chapel of St. WINIFRED. The miracles of the
 Roman god are similar to the miracles of the British saint:
 both have been maintained with the same degree of blind su-
 perstition, and both have arisen from the ignorance of the po-
 pulace, and the subtilty of the priests.

We find CLITUMNUS mentioned by VIRGIL^a, and many
 other of the Latin poets. It still retains the name CLITUM-
 NO: the description of it in this epistle is elegant, and enter-
 taining.

^a Georgic 2. §. 146.

E P I S T L E IX.

PLINY to URSUS.

A Long time has passed since I have taken a book,
 or a pen into my hand. A long time has passed
 since I have tasted retirement, quiet, or that happy
 state of indolence, in which a man is so far from be-
 ing active, that he scarce exists. The business of
 my friends deprived me of leisure, and of study:
 for the duties of friendship are to be preferred to all
 kinds of study; since study itself teaches us to be
 most religiously observant of friendship. Adieu.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

Non stilum sumpsi. The *stilus* of the ancients was origi-
 nally of iron, afterwards of bone; sharp pointed at one end,
 and broad at the other. With the sharp end they made the
 impression of their writings upon wax; the other was adapt-
 ed to make erasures. The method of writing upon wax was
 not the most antient. Leaves of trees were used in the be-
 ginning; then [*philyra*] the thin skin between the bark and
 the wood; then reeds; after which, linen and wax became
 in fashion. In speaking of the *stilus*, it is scarce possible to

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forget,

forget, that it was the instrument, with which JULIUS CÆSAR defended himself in his last moments. The conspirators are said to have wounded each other with their own daggers, in their fury against the *dictator*; but the surmise cannot appear extravagant, if we suppose, that CÆSAR, armed only with the *stilus*, gave those wounds to his assassins^b. In such a hand the pen became a kind of spear, and might have been prevalent against every other weapon, but the dagger of BRUTUS.

Illud iners quidem, jucundum tamen, nihil agere, nihil esse: "That indolent, but agreeable situation of doing nothing, and being nothing." Learned ease is the most happy state, that we are capable of enjoying: But the consequences, which attend it, are generally pernicious, and sometimes fatal. It drives the mind into a lethargic indolence, that often proves destructive to the body. It is apt to create in us too great an aversion to the world. As we grow better acquainted with the dead, we are less desirous to converse with the living. We become of no farther benefit to our country, and we scarce seem to answer the ends of our creation. Our social virtues are bestowed upon books, instead of men. We contract a kind of rust, that proves inconvenient to ourselves, and disagreeable to all others. So that if retirement is not a vice, it certainly is not a virtue. But PLINY constantly made his inclinations subservient to his duty; and broke through the inactivity of his disposition, and the allurements of his study, whenever it became necessary, that he should sustain the character of an advocate, and a friend.

^b SÆTONTIUS tells us, that CÆSAR wounded CASSIUS. CÆSAR CASSII *brachium arreptum graphio trajecit*. SÆT. JULIUS CÆSAR, cap. 82. The word *graphium* is the same as *stilus*; the pen, with which the Romans wrote in their tablets.

EPISTLE X.

PLINY to FABATUS, his wife's grandfather.

YOUR concern will rise in proportion to that desire which you have to see your great grandchildren descended from us, when you hear, that your granddaughter

grandaughter has miscarried, from being, through inexperience, not sensible of her condition: by which means she omitted the necessary precautions, which ought to be observed in such cases, and committed some errors in her conduct, which ought to have been avoided. But she has severely suffered for this neglect, by the extreme danger, to which her life was reduced.

Therefore as you must be very sensibly affected to find your old age as yet deprived of an immediate issue from her, so is it incumbent on you to thank the gods, who, at the same time they have denied you this blessing, have preserved your granddaughter; so that even her pregnancy, although now unsuccessful, affords a more sure prospect, that they will repair the loss.

I earnestly recommend to you those arguments, with which I have confirmed and supported my own mind upon this occasion; nor can you be more desirous to see great grandchildren, than I am to see my own children.

I please myself with the prospect, that our mutual dignity, after my death may open to them an easy succession to public honours; that their names may be more distinguished by their spreading characters; and that the family may be long continued. At present I only desire to see them born, and this scene of sorrow changed into joy. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The subject of this epistle is extremely delicate, and the style of it is very concise; the sentiments are so beautiful in the original, that they require a paraphrastical turn in the translation. The manner, in which *PLINY* discloses a misfortune, that must sensibly affect the grandfather of *CALPURNIA*, is tender, and considerate: and the conclusion, although tinged with vanity, is the most alluring comfort, that *PLINY* could offer to *FABATUS*. That kind of pride, which arises from the splendor and nobility of our ancestors, is most wisely implanted in human nature; as it

incites us to those virtuous actions, which may make us shine with a lustre equal to our predecessors.

EPISTLE XI.

PLINY to CORELLIA HISPULLA.

WHEN I reflect upon your affection to your brother's daughter^c, an affection even beyond a mother's tenderness, I think I ought to mention those circumstances first, which otherwise would have been mentioned last; so that the immediate impressions of joy may leave no room for future affliction. However, I am still apprehensive, that your exultations will be succeeded by your fears; and that as soon as you find yourself happy in the thoughts of CALPURNIA's safety, you will tremble to think she has been in danger.

She is at present perfectly chearful, perfectly restored to herself and me. Her spirits begin to return, and by recovering her health, she is gaining the ground she had lost. She has been in the utmost danger, (I may now safely own it,) not from any fault, except inexperience: to this was owing her miscarriage, and all the dreadful consequences of it.

But if the loss of your brother is not supplied by the comfort of a nephew, or a niece, still remember, that the consolation is rather deferred than denied; since she is alive, from whom such a blessing may be expected. Excuse also to your father a misfortune, to which your sex are always ready to shew great indulgence. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This epistle is very judiciously placed after the preceding letter to FABATUS. It is written to CORELLIA HISPULLA,

^c CALPURNIA, the wife of PLINY.

the

the daughter of FABATUS, upon the same melancholy subject, the miscarriage of CALPURNIA: and it is written in such a style and manner, as to prevent all comments, and to appear eminently splendid, without the assistance of a foil. We must admire the picture of CALPURNIA, whenever it is presented to our view. The very outlines of so perfect a beauty are captivating. Her character is given by PLINY in the nineteenth epistle of the fourth book. Her virtues were not crowned with the happiness, which they seem to deserve; she was never *the joyful mother of children*; who, if they had ever existed, must have enjoyed all the advantages of education, under the care of a mother so signalized for chastity, and a father so distinguished for literature.

E P I S T L E XII.

PLINY to CORNELIUS MINUTIANUS.

I Must excuse myself to you this particular day: TITINIUS CAPITO is to rehearse. I know not whether I am prompted more by duty, than by inclination, to hear him. He is a man of a most excellent disposition, and ever to be numbered among the chief ornaments of this age. He cultivates literature; he loves men of learning; he encourages and brings them forward. Many particular authors have found him their patron, their refuge, and their reward: all authors have found him their example. The arts and sciences, just upon the point of decay, have been restored and reformed by him. His house is the school for rehearsals: he attends that kind of exercise, with equal goodness, both at home and abroad. If he was at *Rome*, he was never absent at my rehearsals. It would be shameful in me therefore not to return the compliment, when my attendance on him is much the greater honour. If I am employed as a lawyer, shall I not think myself obliged to a friend, who is ready to answer for my appearance on the day appointed? And now, when my time and thoughts are totally engaged in study, shall I think myself un-

der less obligation to the person, who so sedulously attends my rehearsals? If this is not the only point, it is certainly the greatest, in which I can be obliged. But if no acknowledgment, no mutual kindness were owing to him from me, I should be incited either by his turn of genius, which is particularly beautiful and great, and mild even upon the severest subjects; or by the noble materials, which he has chosen for his theme. He relates the death of many illustrious persons; some of whom were very dear to me. It seems therefore a pious duty incumbent on me, to be present at the funeral praises of those friends, whose obsequies I was not permitted to celebrate. As it is long since they died, their praises will carry the greater certainty of truth. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

CORNELIUS MINUTIANUS, to whom this letter is addressed, is characterised by PLINY, in the twenty second epistle of the seventh book; as is TITINIUS CAPITO in the seventeenth epistle of the first book^d. MINUTIANUS was a lawyer: CAPITO was a poet. Neither the speeches of the former, nor the poetry of the latter, have escaped the ruins of time.

The character, which HORACE gives of FONTEIUS CAPITO^e, perhaps the ancestor of TITINIUS, seems very applicable to CAPITO, the friend of PLINY; *Ad unguem factus homo*: "A man perfectly accomplished." In the two epistles, wherein CAPITO is mentioned, he is delineated as a true and noble Roman, who paid all possible veneration to merit and virtue, in whatever age, or under whatever disadvantages they had appeared.

^d See that epistle, and the observations upon it.

^e HORATII Lib. I. Satir. 5. v. 32.

EPISTLE XIII.

PLINY *to* GENIALIS.

I AM much pleased, that you have read my books in company with your father. Nothing can be a greater advantage to you, than to learn from so very accomplished a man, how to distinguish those parts, which are fit to be praised, and those, which ought to be blamed; and to be also educated in such a manner, as always to speak your true opinion. You see in whose footsteps you ought to tread. You are happy, since your lot has fallen at once under the example of the best model, and the nearest relation. For even he, whom you would principally chuse to imitate, is the person, to whom nature has given you the greatest resemblance. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

This is the only epistle extant to GENIALIS. His father's name must remain unknown to us. Nor can we learn the least circumstance relating to himself. The subject of this letter is no otherwise curious than from that particular delicacy, with which PLINY endeavours to insinuate filial piety into the heart of GENIALIS. Virtue is cultivated by our author in all her branches; he misses no opportunity of promoting every duty in civil life: and from his most trifling letters, we may generally extract some point of morality, or some instance of politeness.

EPISTLE XIV.

PLINY *to* TITUS ARISTO.

AS you are a perfect master of all acts of the legislature, both private and public, of which last the senatorial law is a part, I preferably chuse to

hear from you, whether I was guilty yesterday of an error in the senate, or not? I shall not attempt to correct what is past (it is now too late) but if the like case should again happen, I shall be glad to be instructed for the future.

You will say, *Why do you enquire after what you ought to know?* The slavery of former times has not only drawn on a kind of oblivion and ignorance of the senatorial rights and privileges, but even of other most excellent arts and sciences. For where shall we find a man sufficiently patient to be willing to learn those lessons, which he can never put in practise? Add to this, that it is difficult to retain what you have learnt, unless you are frequently exercised in it. Therefore our liberty, which is now restored, has found us untaught, and unexperienced. But we are so delighted with the sweets of freedom, that we have been obliged to act parts, in which we are not yet sufficiently perfect.

It was one of our antient institutions to receive from our parents instances and advice of those precepts, which were afterwards to be put in execution by ourselves, and which again our children were to receive from us. With this view, our young men were bred in camps; that from obedience they might learn to govern, and from being commanded, they might know how to command. With the same view, the candidates for preferment attended at the door of the senate-house, and were spectators of the public council, before they became members of it. Every one had his own parent for a master; or, if he had not a parent, one among the noblest, and the oldest of the senators, supplied that place. They were taught by examples, (the most unerring kind of instruction) the exact privilege of such persons, who laid appeals before the senate; the power of the judges upon those appeals; the rights and privileges of the magistrates; the liberties of the rest of the senators at what time
it

it might be proper to yield, and when it was necessary to oppose; when they ought to be silent, and in what method they should proceed in speaking; how to make necessary distinctions between contrary opinions; and how to make any addition to those subjects of debate, which had been proposed before; in a word, they were taught the several customs of the senate.

When I was a young man, I was in the army; but I was there, when virtue was suspected; when vice was rewarded; when generals had not authority; when soldiers had not modesty; when neither command, nor obedience took place; when all things were out of order, in confusion, and even turned to their contraries; in a word, when all transactions ought rather to be forgotten, than to be remembered. In the same manner I have beheld the senate-house; but it was a court trembling and silent; where freedom of speech was dangerous, where hypocrisy was a necessary evil. What could be learnt at such a juncture? Or what pleasure could then arise from learning? When the senate was summoned either to no purpose, or was convened to give sanction to some villainy; when it was assembled, sometimes in a vein of ridicule, sometimes to perpetuate some cruelty; when debates were never serious, but often sorrowful?

As soon as we became senators, we also became partners of these misfortunes. We had seen, and suffered them several years; and our faculties, which might have been of use to posterity, are thereby weakened, broken, and wasted. The time has been short, (for the happiest time will appear the shortest) since we have been permitted to know, who we are, and to put that knowledge into execution. Upon this account I have the stronger inducement, first to ask your pardon for my error, if it is an error; then, to entreat your judgement to assist me. You have always studied with due attention the public and the private

private laws, the antient and the modern constitution, the obsolete and the most accustomed practices. Yet I am of opinion, that even the lawyers, who, by their constant employments in variety of causes, imagine themselves perfectly versed in every branch of their profession, have not either sufficiently considered, or sufficiently experienced the particular question, which I shall lay before you. In these circumstances, my error must more easily find a pardon, and your judgment will require a greater share of praise, if you can resolve me this obscure point, as clearly as if it had already come within the verge of your experience.

A debate arose in the senate concerning the freedmen of the consul AFRANIUS DEXTER; it being uncertain, whether he killed himself, or whether he died by the hands of his freedmen; and again, whether they killed him from a spirit of malice, or of obedience. One of the senators (it is of little purpose to tell you, I was the person) declared, that he thought these freedmen ought to be put to the question, and afterwards released. The sentiments of another were, that the freedmen should be banished; and of another, that they should suffer death. It was impossible to reconcile such a diversity of opinions. What agreement can be framed between the sentence for death, and the sentence for banishment? No more indeed than between the sentence for banishment, and for acquittal. The two latter are however a little nearer than the two former. In both the last cases life is spared; by the former motion it is taken away. In the mean time, such of the senators, who had given their voice for death, and such of them, who had declared for banishment, sat together: by this temporary feint of unanimity, their disunion could not be discovered. I desired them, that the three different opinions should be numbered; and that the two parties, who had made a momentary truce, should be separated.

I required too, that the persons, who had voted for capital punishment, should be entirely divided from those, who had voted for banishment. And that both the parties, who had differently opposed the acquittal, should not be suffered to unite together; because it was of little consequence, that they disagreed as to one point, while they did not agree in another. To me it seemed an astonishing circumstance, that any person, who had condemned the freedmen to banishment, and the slaves to death, should be obliged to vote separately on each point; and that the person, who had adjudged the freedmen to death, was to be numbered among those, who had adjudged them only to banishment. For, if the opinion of one senator ought to be divided, because it comprehended two distinct propositions, I did not conceive, how the opinion of any two senators could be united, when their sentiments were so widely different. And therefore permit me to offer to you the reasons of my decision, in the same manner, as if I were in the senate; in the same manner, as if the affair, which is now determined, were yet to be adjudged. And permit me also, in my present leisure, to connect the various thoughts, which I then expressed by starts, amidst the interruption of noise and clamour.

Let us suppose, that three judges only had been appointed to determine this cause; one of whom had declared, that the freedmen ought to suffer death; another had been of opinion, that they ought to be banished; and the third had given his voice for their acquittal. Shall the two first opinions, because the authors of them join together, destroy the third? Or ought not each opinion to have as much weight as any one of the two others? For the first bears no nearer a comparison to the second, than the second to the third. In the senate therefore, votes ought to be numbered as contrary, when they are effectually incompatible. For if one and the same person should
adjudge

adjudge the criminals to be banished, and to be executed, must they, according to that sentence, undergo banishment and death? Or, lastly, could it be thought one single sentence, which comprehended such different decrees? When one man has determined, that they ought to die, another, that they ought to be sent into banishment; how is it possible to affirm the determinations of two persons to be only one, when, if they were pronounced by any single senator, they would be deemed two distinct awards? What is the law? Has it not expressly declared, that the sentences for death and banishment ought to be separated? And to that purpose, is not the division of the senators appointed in these terms? *Ye, who are of such an opinion, go to that side: Ye, who are in every respect of a contrary opinion, go to the side of the person, from whom you have derived your opinion.* Examine every one of these words, and consider them well: *Ye, who are of such an opinion;* that is, ye, who think they ought to be banished, *go to that side,* that is, to the side where sat the leader of this opinion. From whence it is manifest, that they, who voted for death, could not remain in the same place with those, who voted for banishment. *Ye, who are in every respect:* You observe, that the law not content to say, *of a contrary opinion,* added, *in every respect.* Can it be a doubt therefore, that they, who were for death, thought contrary, in every respect, to those, who were for banishment? *Go to that side* [of the senate-house] *where the person sits, who first made the motion, to which you adhere.* Has not the law then apparently called, enforced, and driven those, who disagree, into contrary places? Does not the consul also, not only by the form of words, but by his hand, and gesture, point out to every senator, in what part he is to stay, or to what part he is to go? But it may be objected, that if the votes of those, who were for death, were divided from those, who were for banishment, the
 voices

voices for an absolute acquittal would prevail. Such an effect is not to be regarded by the persons, who give that judgement; in whom it would be indecent to use any kind of art, or skill, that might prevent the milder sentence from taking place. However it may be farther urged, that those, who were for death, and those, who were for banishment, should first be numbered against those, who were for acquittal, and afterwards compared among themselves; in the same manner, as at the public shews, where chance now and then sets aside and preserves some particular combatant, who afterwards contends with the conqueror of the rest: so, in the senate, we have first debates, and then again second debates; and when one opinion has prevailed, a third is ready to oppose the prevailing decision. Because, as soon as any one opinion is prevalent, the others are destroyed. For which reason it is absolutely necessary, that one and the same place should be appointed for those, who agree in sentiments, since, after sentence given, there is no such place. I will explain myself still farther: those, who are for death, ought immediately to separate themselves from those, who are for banishment, as soon as the latter have declared their opinion; or else they ought not to be permitted to separate themselves afterwards from companions, to whom they originally adhered.

But why should I assume the part of a master, when I would willingly be taught, whether these several opinions ought to have been separated or not? I obtained indeed the point, at which I aimed. I must nevertheless desire to be informed, whether I ought to have pursued my proposition, or to have receded from it, after the example of a certain person, who had given his voice for capital punishment. This senator, I know not whether convinced so much by the legality, as by the equity of the demand, desisted from his first opinion, and voted for banishment; fearing,

fearing, that if the several votes were taken separately, (as according to my proposal must have been the case ^a) those, who had voted for an entire acquittal, would have been most numerous: the numbers being much greater on that side, than on either of the other two. Upon this occasion, such persons, who had been influenced by his authority, being deserted by him, still continued to follow him, as their leader in his revolt. Thus were these three opinions reduced to two, one of which prevailed; the third, as it was overruled, had only the choice, to which of the other two it would submit. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

It is to be wished, that all letters from PLINY, relating to the forms and proceedings in the Roman senate, were particularly explicit. But if we consider, as has been elsewhere observed, that these letters were written to persons, who needed no part of the information, which we require, some few hints only can be expected towards satisfying our curiosity. In this epistle such passages may be selected, as point out the manner of receiving the voices, and dividing the votes of the senators: in which form we may observe some resemblance to our usages of parliament; the consul upon this occasion, acting the same part, and pronouncing almost the same words, as the speaker, in either of our two houses. The epistle begins with a very just complaint of the abject situation, into which the senate of *Rome* had been plunged, during the reigns of those emperors, who had overturned all law and justice, and had so entirely abolished every trace of virtue, and every mark of freedom, that the true and undoubted privileges of the senate were utterly forgotten. As the excellent old customs of preparing young men in a proper manner, for the service of their country, both in the camp and in the senate, must have been of great advantage to the commonwealth: so the abolition of those customs must have occasioned such confusion, that the government was thereby reduced to that miserable situation, which PLINY has pathetically represented in this epistle.

^a *Quod alioqui fore videbatur.*

The debate concerning AFRANIUS DEXTER is much perplexed. It is stated partially, and the arguments upon it are quibbling and mysterious. The plain and legal question to be decided by the senate was, whether DEXTER had been killed by his freedmen, from their malice, or in pursuance of his own command? If they were convicted of killing him maliciously, the punishment inflicted by law, on such offenders, was death. If they were proved to have killed him in obedience to his own orders, they ought to have been acquitted. The opinion of PLINY therefore is by no means to be justified. He declares, that the freedmen ought to be put to the question and afterwards released. If they were innocent, why should they be punished? If guilty, why released? Perhaps, indeed, the evidence against them might not be sufficient for their conviction, yet might be circumstantial enough to affix the strongest presumption of their guilt. In that case, the sentence for banishment ought to have prevailed; and indeed PLINY, by his application to ARISTO, shews himself suspicious of his own conduct, which, in this particular instance, seems not so well founded in reason and equity as usual. Throughout the whole epistle, the quibbles of the lawyer are much more conspicuous, than the dignity of the senator.

E P I S T L E XV.

PLINY to TERENTIUS JUNIOR.

BY sending to you such a number of volumes at a time, they will be a burden: but I have burdened you, first, because you desired me; then because, as your letter informed me, your vintage was so very small, that I could plainly perceive you was at leisure, which signifies, according to the vulgar phrase, you had time enough to read a book. From my own little estate, they send me the same sort of news. I shall therefore have the same sort of leisure for writing; and you may read my works, if I have money sufficient to buy paper. But should that paper be too spongy, or too rough, I must either not write, or, by necessity, whatever I write, whether

whether it be good or bad, will be so blotted as not to be legible. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

PLINY, in the twenty fifth epistle of the seventh book, gives us a very remarkable character of TERENTIUS JUNIOR, and seems surprized at the learning, and elegance, which he had discovered in the conversation of a man, who had long retired from the high scenes of life, and had entirely devoted himself to rural and domestic avocations. Such a discovery at once engaged the friendship, regards, and correspondence of PLINY: and accordingly we find this epistle an answer to a letter received from JUNIOR, wherein he had complained, that his vintage had not fulfilled his hopes and expectations.

Tam graciles istic vindemias esse, ut planè scirem tibi vacaturum (quod vulgo dicitur) librum legere: “Your vintages have been so little answerable, that you could not want leisure for the perusal of a book.” The commentators very justly imagine this sentence to allude to some Roman proverb, signifying, “If you cannot gather grapes, gather learning.” Epistles of this kind were scarce ever designed for public view: we may reasonably suppose, that PLINY, according to his declaration in the first epistle of the first book, called in the whole collection of his letters^b, with an intention to digest, and publish them in a proper manner. Upon such a review, this letter and many others, equally obscure and insignificant, must have been rejected. But it is probable, that he died before he had carried these intentions into execution.

^b *Eas [epistolas] quæ adhuc neglectæ jacent, requiram.*

EPISTLE XVI.

PLINY to PATERNUS.

I AM much disconcerted by the illness of my servants, among whom some of the youngest have died. Two consolations only are left me: they are not
by

any means equivalent to my grief; however they are consolations. The first is, the readiness, which I shewed, in granting their freedom; (for, after manumission, I seem not to have lost them immaturely :) the second is, the permission, which I gave even to my slaves, to make, as it were, complete wills. I keep these wills in my own custody, as if they had been legal; and I have obeyed their several dispositions, and desires, with the utmost exactness. They have made the divisions, gifts, and bequests, which they have thought proper: the donations have been confined to my domestics; because to slaves the house, in which they live, is a kind of city, and commonwealth.

These proceedings have afforded me some comfort in my distress; notwithstanding which, I am still dispirited, and unhinged by the same motives of humanity, that induced me to grant such indulgences. However, I by no means wish to become less susceptible of tenderness. I know this kind of misfortunes would be estimated by other persons only as common losses, and from such sensations they would conceive themselves great and wise men. I shall not determine either their greatness or their wisdom; but I am certain they have no humanity. It is the part of a man to be affected with grief, to feel sorrow, at the same time, that he is to resist it, and to admit of comfort.

But I have said perhaps more upon this subject, than I ought; I have however said less than I intended. There is even a certain pleasure in affliction; especially if you weep in the bosom of a friend; who will be always ready either to applaud, or to excuse your tears. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

Humanity cannot be stretched to a higher point than in this epistle. PLINY must have been remarkably happy in his
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servants, or his servants uncommonly fortunate in their master. The latter is the more probable circumstance. He treats his domestics with the tenderness of a friend, and he laments their death, as if he were their parent. His slaves, we find, are made entirely free, or enjoy some of the choicest blessings of freedom. They were permitted to make their wills, although the law deprived them of that privilege.

Mandant, rogantque, quod visum: pareo ut jussus. Dividunt, donant, relinquunt: "They issue out their orders, or desire what they chuse to be done: I comply with their request, as if entrusted with their commands. They distribute, they give, and they leave legacies." How amiable is PLINY in his private character! How amiable in this particular epistle! an epistle, in which no commentator is necessary to explain the meaning, no biographer to illustrate the action, no editor to rectify the style. His generosity must have been at once an example, and a reproach; since it is certain, that slaves were frequently enfranchized for the vilest purposes. Their masters were not actuated, like PLINY, by motives of compassion and benevolence. But on the contrary, they made the manumission of their servants of benefit to themselves. For example, a master, who had committed any crime, which might render him punishable by law, granted immediate liberty to such of his slaves, whom he had entrusted, and made partners in his guilt; lest by being tortured, they might divulge his secrets, and become witnesses against him: but as soon as they had obtained their freedom, they were no longer liable to corporal punishments. And as citizens of *Rome* exempted from all indignities, and oppressions, they could not be scourged to bring them to a confession of any criminal practices they might have committed. Thus the master defended and secured himself by an action, which carried the specious appearance of generosity, and like the fruit near the lake *Asphaltites*, bore a fair outward aspect, when the taste within was nauseous and detestable.

EPISTLE XVII.

PLINY to MACRINUS.

HAS the weather been as inclement and tempestuous with you, as it has been with us, where hurricanes and inundations are frequent and almost continual? The *Tiber* has overflowed its channel, and rises high above its banks. The emperor had, with a proper foresight¹, caused a ditch to be made to prevent inundations: but the river, notwithstanding that drain, has extended itself over the vallies, and covered all the fields. Wherever there is level ground, there the water collects itself. Thus that river, which used only to receive certain supplies from other rivulets, and to convey them united in its channel, now meeting with a new resistance, repels the superfluous waters, and covers the fields with them, but rises not itself beyond its natural bounds. The *Anio*², whose gentle motion distinguishes it above all other rivers, and which seems, on that account, to be allured and detained in its course by villas built upon its borders³, has broken and carried off a great part of those woods, with which it was shaded. It has subverted mountains, the fall of which has, in many places, choaked up the river; and it has raised and extended itself upon their ruins.

¹ *Providentissimus imperator*. CICERO explains the meaning of this epithet, by telling us, *providentia est, per quam futurum aliquid videtur antè quam factum sit*. CICERO. de Invent. Lib. 2. cap. 53.

² The *Anio*, at this day *la Teverone*, is mentioned by HORACE, *et præceps Anio*. By the epithet *præceps* the poet alludes to the rapid manner, in which this river falls into the *Tiber*, and therefore the place is called *la Cascata*. Vid. HORAT. Lib. 1. ode 7.

³ Numerous houses were built on the sides of this river; the inhabitants of which were called *Anienicolæ*.

The inhabitants, who live upon higher grounds, which the devastation could not reach, had a prospect, diversified in one place with the ruins of elegant furniture, and rich materials for luxury; in another with the utensils of husbandry; here with oxen, ploughs, and their drivers; there with cattle disengaged, and free from their yokes: among these the trunks of trees, and beams, which supported houses, the roofs of which were floating up and down, in various places, and at great distances. But indeed those situations, which were too high to be reached by the flood, have not been entirely exempt from the calamity. For continued rains, and whirlwinds rushing from the clouds, have equalled all the effects of the river; by which the enclosures, that surrounded and divided that fine country, have been destroyed. Many public buildings have been damaged, and even some of them overturned; by the fall of which, great numbers of people have been maimed, smothered, bruised; and the calamities have still been increased by the general mourning.

My fears are, lest you may have suffered some proportionable degree of this danger. And I entreat you, that if no such misfortune has happened, you will immediately deliver me from my anxiety. But even if you are equally unfortunate with others, let me know it. For the difference is small, between feeling adversity, or apprehending it; except only, that our griefs can be limited, but our fears exceed all bounds: for our griefs are fixed to what we know has happened; but our fears rise to what possibly may happen. Farewell.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

This epistle contains a mixture of beauties and defects. The language, in many parts of it, is too florid and poetical. We find here and there certain turns and witticisms, that are not consistent with the simplicity, in which familiar letters

letters ought to appear. A letter, which is only a conversation, delivered upon paper, should be perfectly easy and perfectly correct. At the same time, that low expressions are to be rejected, high flights are equally to be avoided. Quibbles, in particular, are the lowest kind of writing. They are the most flagrant instances of false wit, and ought to be entirely banished from all works of elegance. But although some of these errors may be found in this epistle, such as *planum solum pro solo cernitur*, and, *alienis aquis operit agros, quos ipse non tangit*; and although the description of the tempest, and inundation, is not sufficiently plain, and prosaical; yet the conclusion of the epistle seems to repair all preceding blemishes. The expression, and the sense is excellent, where PLINY says, *Nam parvulum differt, patiaris adversa, an expectes: nisi quod tamen est dolendi modus, non est timendi. Do-leas enim, quantum scias accidisse; timeas, quantum possit acci-dere*: “There is little difference, whether you suffer, or
 “whether you expect adversity. Grief indeed has some
 “bounds, but fear has none. You bewail only the parti-
 “cular misfortune, which has already happened; you fear
 “every misfortune, that can possibly arrive.”

E P I S T L E XVIII.

PLINY to RUFINUS.

THE vulgar imagination is assuredly false, that the manners of mankind are to be discerned, as in a mirror, by their last wills; since DOMITIUS TULLUS has appeared a much better man at his death, than in his life time. For, after having given himself up to certain persons, who had a view to his inheritance^w, he has made his brother's daughter his heir, having adopted her as his own child. He has bestowed upon his grandsons very many, and very acceptable legacies; and has given a bequest to a great grandson. In a word, all his dispositions seem to proceed from justice; and they are more extraordinary, as they are unexpected.

^w *Nam cum se captandum præbuisset.* See the observations.

Upon this occasion the discourses at *Rome* are much divided. Some call him false, ungrateful, and perfidious; forgetting, that while they are abusing him, they are making most wicked discoveries against themselves; by complaining of him, as if they were his orphans, and he their father, their grandfather, or great grandfather. Others, on the contrary, applaud him very much, for having frustrated the hopes of a set of men, whom it is most prudent to deceive, considering the disposition of the present times. They add also, that he was not at liberty to die with any other kind of will; for that the estate, he left to his daughter, was not given, but restored; she having been the means of his acquiring it. For CURTIUS MANTIA, entirely detesting his son-in-law DOMITIANUS LUCANUS, (who was brother of TULLUS) made the daughter of DOMITIANUS, who was the granddaughter of CURTIUS, his heir, on this express condition, that she should be enfranchized, and taken out of the custody and power of her father. DOMITIANUS accordingly made her free, and TULLUS her uncle adopted her. And in this manner having eluded the meaning and intention of the will, the brother being a partner in the spoils by the fraud of adoption, restored the enfranchized daughter into the power of her father, and with her very great wealth.

These brothers in other instances became rich, as if fate ordained them to be opulent, even against the wills and inclinations of the persons, who enriched them. For DOMITIUS AFER, who adopted them, left a will made by him eighteen years before; although that will was so much disapproved by him, that he had caused the goods of their father to be confiscated. The severity of AFER in this case was astonishing; nor was the good fortune of the two brothers less amazing. His cruelty was conspicuous in procuring the banishment of a person, who was
equally

equally a parent with himself, to the same children; and their happiness was again as visible, in finding a father in a person, who had driven away their father. But it was just, in order to effect a reconciliation, that this inheritance of APER, as also all that he had gained in partnership with his brother, should be transferred to the daughter of that brother, who, in preference to his daughter, had left TULLUS his whole estate. Such a will therefore was the more commendable, as it was dictated by the motives of affection, integrity, and shame; and as it contained legacies to all his relations, and particularly to his wife, according to their respective merits.

His wife, whose patience and goodness towards him were remarkably great, has received from him, in return, several beautiful country houses, and a large sum of money. And her merits to him were still the greater, as she drew upon herself much reproach by her marriage. She was a woman of birth; of an excellent character; not young; had been long a widow; and was formerly a mother of children. She had in this second marriage joined herself to an old rich man, of so infirm a constitution, that in his most youthful and healthy days, he could scarce have proved an agreeable husband. But all his joints were now so weakened, and useless, that he had no other enjoyment of his riches, than by seeing them; nor could he turn in his bed, except he were assisted by others. And, what is at once indelicate and melancholy to relate, he could not even wash or rub his own teeth. So that he was frequently heard to say, when he was complaining of the many misfortunes consequent to his weakness, that he was obliged daily to lick the fingers of his slaves. But he still lived, and was desirous to live; sustained chiefly by the incessant attendance of his wife; whose perseverance, upon this occasion, has regained that reputation, which in the beginning of her marriage she had forfeited. You have now all the

news of *Rome*; for TULLUS is the general topic of discourse. The auction of his goods is expected to be soon. He had such a large number of very fine old statues, that he filled an extensive garden with them the same day, on which he purchased it; and till then, his finest moveables had lain neglected in store-houses.

In return, if, where you are, you find any subject worthy of a letter, think it not a trouble to write to me. For, at the same time, that we are delighted to hear news, we are instructed, by examples, in the regulation of our lives. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

Falsum est nimirum, quod creditur vulgo, testamenta hominum speculum esse morum: “The received notion, that the wills of dying persons are like mirrors, which reflect the image of their minds, is by no means an infallible maxim.” Although this assertion may be supported by examples, of which DOMITIANUS TULLUS, as PLINY says, is one; yet, in general, the last wills of dying persons are in a great degree the images of their former life. The ill-natured man appears tyrannical by his will. The humane man leaves behind him all possible acts of benevolence. We expire as we have lived; our last inclinations are the same as our first, only reduced to a greater state of weakness.

Nam cum se captandum præbuisse. The *captatores* were the same as the *hæredipetæ*, of whom notice has been taken in the observations on the twentieth epistle of the second book. They were misers, who ventured large sums of money upon the coughs and infirmities of old age^x.

Alii contra hoc ipsum laudibus ferunt, quod sit frustratus improbas spes hominum, quos sic decipere, pro moribus temporum, prudentia est: “Others extoll this conduct, and call it prudence, to frustrate the hopes of such men, whom, considering the morals of this age, it is meritorious to deceive.” Such a paragraph seems to ascertain this letter to

^x MARTIAL has an excellent epigram, in *Gargilianum captatorem*, lib. 4. ep. 56.

have been written in the reign of TRAJAN. The *captatores* were encouraged, and if I may use the expression, were in fashion, during the reign of DOMITIAN. But knavery of every kind, when it could not be punished, was at least discountenanced in the reign of TRAJAN. It was prudent therefore to disappoint a set of miscreants, who were become odious and despicable to the strict morals of a virtuous age, in which openness and sincerity were much more cultivated, and respected, than artifice and cunning.

A quo TULLUS ex assè hæres institutus : “ By whom “ TULLUS was appointed his heir in the amplest latitude of “ the word.” The *hæredes ex assè* were the heirs of the main inheritance. This particular phrase is thus fully explained by ALEXANDER^z in his *Dies geniales* : *Cum vero te hæredem in assèm effecero, solidam hæreditatem et integrum patrimonium, nullis diminutis partibus, transferri volo*^a : “ For “ when I shall have made you my heir [*ad assèm*] I mean, “ that my whole and entire inheritance, without the least “ diminution from any part of it, should be transferred to “ you.”

Any story, that relates to old *Rome*, is curious; and although this epistle contains a narrative, wherein much fraud and oppression must necessarily be related, and discussed, yet we may observe the whole tenour of the letter to be free from all severe reflexions, and to be filled with all that candour and good nature, which seems to raise PLINY far above the common level of mankind.

^z He was an eminent lawyer, a Neapolitan. He flourished in the year 1494.

^a Lib. i. cap. i.

E P I S T L E XIX.

PLINY to MAXIMUS.

I Receive at once both pleasure and comfort by my studies. They render happy events still more joyful: they alleviate sorrow, be it ever so oppressive. Therefore under my present anxiety, occasioned by the illness of my wife, and the precarious health of my whole family, some of whom are lately dead, I have

have taken refuge in my studies, as the only retreat from grief. From whence this benefit accrues, that if my studies make me more sensible of my misfortunes, they still make me more patient. But it is my custom, to examine by the judgement of my particular friends, and more especially by your opinion, the works, which I intend to publish. Now then, if ever, let your attention be fixed upon the book, which I send to you with this letter; because I am not without my apprehensions, that in my present melancholy state, I have not sufficiently digested it. For although I can so far command my grief, as to be able to write, yet my mind is neither easy nor composed. And indeed since true happiness is the consequence of our studies, that consequence must necessarily be preceded by a chearfulness of mind. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The observation in the beginning of this letter, *et gaudium mihi et solatium in literis; nihilque tam lætum, quod his lætius; nihil tam triste, quod non per hos sit minus triste*, is no less remarkable than true: and although PLINY confines it to himself, yet it may be admitted as an aphorism applicable to all mankind. "Our sorrows are alleviated, and our joys are encreased by study." Books, when properly used, are our truest friends and our most comfortable companions. They teach us in what manner to enjoy pleasures; and in what manner to bear adversity. They visit us without intrusion, and they converse with us without constraint. So that if it were possible for us in our childish, and most youthful state of life, to foresee the future benefit and satisfaction, that must arise in our minds from a thorough application to arts and sciences, our diversions would not engage our whole attention, but would become necessary amusements, and our studies will give us delight. Learning cannot be acquired too soon, or sought after too extensively.

Get knowledge, search it where'soe'er you can:
This from the brute discriminates the man;
Shews from what great original he came,
Image of God, tho' clad in mortal frame.

Thus

Thus arm'd, we conquer cares, and inward strife;
 Again retrieve, and grasp the tree of life;
 On eagle's wings we cut th' ætherial sky,
 And trace th' Almighty's works with mortal eye.

E P I S T L E XX.

P L I N Y to G A L L U S.

WE undertake long voyages both by sea and land, to behold those curiosities, which, if placed before our eyes, we totally neglect. Whether it is, that we are so formed by nature, as to be incurious about the nearer, and intent only upon the more distant objects; or that our desire grows languid to such things as may be enjoyed without any difficulty; or that we are apt to defer taking a single view of what we can at any time see as often as we please. Whatever may be the reason, there are in *Rome*, and near it, numberless curiosities, which have never occurred either to our eyes, or even to our ears. Yet were they in *Greece*, *Ægypt*, or *Asia*, or any of those countries, which produce and recommend miracles, we should have heard them, read of them, and examined them. I have most certainly seen, not long ago, what I never either heard of, or saw before.

My wife's grandfather pressed me to view his lands in *Ameria*. While I was walking there, a lake was shewed to me a little below the house, called *Vadimon*: of which the account given to me was incredible. I came to it. The form of this piece of water is circular, like a wheel when it lies on the ground; and regular in every part; without any curve or projection of the shore; but all uniform, equal, hollowed, and, as it were, cut out by the hand of an artist. The colour is azure, only whiter, more green, and more distinct. The smell is sulphureous, and the taste mineral; which renders the water particularly beneficial in strengthening fractured limbs. The circumference

cumference is not large, yet the winds have sufficient power there to raise waves. No ship sails upon this sacred lake ; but several islands float in it, covered with reeds and rushes ; and all herbs, that flourish most in marshy grounds, are to be found on the sides of the lake. Every island has a peculiar form and motion. The borders of them are all worn away, as they are frequently driven against the shore, and against each other. Their height and weight are equal ; upon which account their depending roots gradually diminish, like the keel of a ship. This form is observable on whatever side you view it, being equally suspended and immersed in the same depth of water. Sometimes they are close, and joined together, and appear like a continent. Sometimes they are dispersed by the violence of the winds ; and sometimes, in a calm, they float separately. A small island frequently swims after a larger like a boat after a ship of burden. And the large, and small, often seem preparing for a race, and often for a combat with each other. Then again, by being driven to the land, they seem to encrease the shore ; and sometimes they take away, and then restore to view different parts of the lake. But there is no appearance of this circumstance, when they are in the middle. It happens, that the cattle, for change of pasture, sometimes go upon these islands, imagining themselves on the farthest part of the shore, and without being sensible, that the land is moveable. When they find, that they are upon the lake, seeming, as it were, to have been conveyed, and placed there, they are much frightened to see themselves encompassed by water on every side : afterwards, when the wind drives them back, they as little perceive their return as their departure. This lake is discharged into a river, which, after appearing for a little space, sinks into the earth, and there continues its course. And all things, that are thrown in, before it descends, are preserved, and returned, where it rises

rises again. I have written this account to you, because I suppose it may be no less acceptable and new to you, than it proved to me. For a knowledge in the works of nature is equally entertaining to us both. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

These floating islands in lakes are often taken notice of by naturalists. They are mentioned by the elder PLINY, and by SENECA; and although they contain nothing supernatural, yet our author has with great art, in this epistle, raised his description into a kind of miracle. The lake of *Vadimon*, now called *lago di Bassanello*, was long since rendered famous by a battle fought upon its borders^b, between the Romans and the Heturians, in which the latter were entirely subdued^c.

Asia, aliave quælibet miraculorum ferax commendatrixque terra: “Asia, or any other country, that has given birth “and authority to miracles.” The phrase *miraculorum commendatrix terra* is particularly expressive; it seems to signify those countries, where prodigies are so very manifest, that they establish, and recommend their certainty beyond a possibility of doubt.

Color cæruleo albidior viridior et pressior. Thus the edition of LONGOLIUS. “The colour is whiter than azure, more “green, and more distinct.” The reading of this sentence by CELLARIUS seems to express a more intelligible meaning. In that edition the paragraph stands thus, *color cæruleo albidior, viridior pressior*: “The colour is whiter than azure, “and more distinct than green.” PLINY sometimes makes use of the word *pressus* in a very strong sense^d; and in this place he seems to distinguish by it the colour of the water as brighter than a sea-green, whose rays are weaker, and more diffused.

^b In the year of Rome 444.

^c The words of LIVY are, *Ille primum dies fortunâ veteri abundantes Etruscorum fregit opes. Cæsum in acie quod roboris fuit: castra eo impetu capta direptaque*. LIVY Hist. lib. 9. cap. 39. This victory is also mentioned by FLORUS at the conclusion of the 13th chapter of his 1st book.

^d *Pressus sermo purusque ex epistolis petitur*. Lib. 7. ep. 17.

Sua cuique figura est, ut modus *. Here also an emendation seems requisite and plausible. The construction of this paragraph, according to the text, must run thus; "Every island assumes a particular figure, according to its size." The size of the islands could not determine their form, but, on the contrary, must be determined by it. If the word *modus* be changed into *motus*, the construction will be, "The motion of each island appropriates to it a particular form." These islands were driven about by the winds, and by their different motions must necessarily assume different appearances, according to their various situations towards the shores and towards each other. This conjecture is strongly supported by passages in the epistle, that enlarge the description, such as, *sæpe minores majoribus, velut cymbulæ onerariis, adhærescunt*, &c.

Par omnibus altitudo, par levitas. The word *levitas* here expresses the specific gravity; because all bodies of the same specific gravity, however different in bulk, are equally suspended in the same fluid: and from hence the following paragraph, which seems obscure and surprising, is evidently explained; *Quippe in speciem carinæ humili radice descendunt: hæc ab omni latere perspicitur, eademque suspensa pariter, et mersa*. The floating roots being equally suspended must appear *in speciem carinæ*; because the pressure of the incumbent fluid, in which they are immersed, encreases in proportion to the distance from the surface, by which means the pliable depending roots must be gradually more compressed, and necessarily assume the form, given them by PLINY, of the keel of a ship.

The observation made by PLINY, at the beginning of this epistle, is very applicable to the English nation; *Ad quæ noscenda iter ingredi, transmittere mare solemus, ea sub oculis posita negligimus*. We are seldom properly prepared to travel abroad; we set out under all the disadvantages of inexperience, and we know so little of our own island, that we are amazed, rather than improved by the various scenes on the continent. We go forth at a time of life, when reason and reflexion are not sufficiently ripened; and we return long before either of them are brought to maturity. But an Englishman, who would propose to himself any real advantages by travelling, ought first to understand the natural

* *Ex editione LONGOLII.*

history and constitution of his own country; which will often supply him with more valuable knowledge, and with a greater fund of curiosities, than may occur in any other kingdom^f. At least such a kind of experimental learning will enable him to judge accurately, and to form proper observations upon the various works of nature, and the heterogeneous manners of mankind.

^f England is admirably described in the two following lines;

A land, that from her seems to push the rest,
A land within herself with wonders blest.

E P I S T L E XXI.

PLINY to ARRIANUS.

AS in life, so in studies, according to my opinion, it gives most pleasure, and is most agreeable to society to mingle mirth with gravity; lest by the one we might be driven into melancholy, by the other into licentiousness. For this reason, I have been induced to mix my more serious works with trifles, and jokes. I chose to produce them, in the properest time and place possible; and I began by accustoming the most lazy persons of my acquaintance to hear them at table. I had gathered my friends together in the month of *July*, a time when there is the greatest vacation from business in the courts, and I had placed desks before their several seats^g. It happened by chance, that I was that day, early in the morning, summoned to appear as an advocate in a cause, which was to come on immediately: this incident made it necessary for me to make an apology. I entreated, that none of my friends present might accuse me of rudeness, because I had suffered myself to be engaged in the court, and in public business, by other friends, at a time when I had proposed to repeat my verses to

^g Lectus.

a select

a select audience. I added, that I followed this rule even in my writings; I preferred necessary business to all pleasures; serious matters to all amusements; and constantly wrote, first for the benefit of my friends, and then for my own inclinations.

The book was written on various subjects, and in different kinds of metre. In this manner we, who are not too confident of our abilities, usually endeavour to avoid the danger of satiety. I repeated my verses during two days, and was compelled to the repetition by the request of my auditors. And yet, as several persons in their repetitions pass over many parts, and therefore cast an imputation on what they have suppressed; so I omitted nothing, and publicly declared, that I had not made any omissions. I read every part, that the whole might be subject to amendment; which can never be the case of those, who repeat only select passages. The latter method may be more modest, and perhaps more respectful; but the former is more artless, and more friendly. For the person, who thinks himself so beloved by his auditors, that he is in no fear of appearing tedious, most certainly bears them an equal degree of affection. Otherwise of what use are our familiar acquaintance, if they are assembled only to please themselves? The man must be very indifferent, even as indifferent as a stranger, who chuses rather to find the work of his friend perfectly correct than to be at the pains of correcting it. I doubt not, that, according to your usual kindness towards me, you are desirous to read, as soon as possible, this new book. You shall read it; but with those alterations which were the cause of my recital: and yet, you already know some parts of it. The late amendments, whether they are for the better, or the worse, (sometimes the latter happens from a long delay) will make you look upon the performance as an entire new work. For where many corrections have been made, even those parts, which

which remain untouched, seem to have undergone an alteration. Farewell.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

Ut in vitâ, sic in studiis, pulcherrimum et humanissimum æstimo, severitatem comitatemque miscere : “ As in life, so in study, it is the characteristic of an elegant and humane disposition, to reconcile severity and chearfulness.” Study is to the mind, what motion is to the body ; a necessary and proper preservative of health and vigour. It has been frequently remarked, that studious men, in their vacant hours, are most chearful, and generally live to the greatest age. By indolence our animal, like our corporal faculties, must degenerate into a languid, and sometimes into an incurable state : but a constant and active pursuit of different branches of literature makes us at once, as PLINY observes, acceptable to our friends, and happy to our selves ; *non sinit esse ferôs.*

That the mind is pleased with variety, and is ever endeavouring to keep itself in employment, is evident from dreams^a. The objects, which make an impression upon us when awake, return to our imagination, infinitely variegated, when we sleep^b ; so that by mixing our studies, in the manner here recommended by PLINY, we might secure to ourselves a perpetual succession of agreeable scenes, and useful speculations.

Let each fair morn some manly object bring,
And keep the towering fancy on the wing.
Let not that spark of light, that heav'nly ray,
Sleep unimprov'd in clods of sordid clay.
Behold this curse attending human race,
If they neglect their reason, or debase,
Folly and vice shall ev'ry power controul,
Deform the body, and pollute the soul,
Obstruct at once great nature's noblest plan,
And in the child of ease, degrade the man.

^a MAIGNANUS, a learned Minim of *Toulouse*, and one of the greatest philosophers of his age, is said to have pursued his studies, and to have perfected his theorems, in his sleep.

^b Vide LUCRET. lib. 4. v. 959.

EPISTLE XXII.

PLINY to DUCENNIUS GEMINUS.

ARE you not acquainted with a certain set of men, who are slaves to all kinds of passions; and yet are so angry at the particular vices of others, that they seem to envy them, and to punish with the greatest severity the faults, which they chiefly imitate? But certainly nothing is preferable to lenity, even in those persons, who stand in no need of indulgence from others. And I must esteem that man the best, and the most perfect, who acts, by forgiving errors, as if he was continually committing them; and yet abstains from faults, as if he never pardoned them. There is no rule therefore, which we ought more strictly to observe at home, abroad, and in every station of life, than that of being inexorable to ourselves, and compassionate to all others; even to those, who feel not any compassion, except for themselves. And we should ever keep in remembrance the maxim of THRASEA, whose remarkable humanity rendered his greatness conspicuous in that virtue, as in all others; **HE, WHO HATES FAULTS, HATES MANKIND.**

You wonder perhaps, by what motive I am induced to write upon this subject. A person lately
 ***** But particulars when we meet; or rather never: because I am afraid by animadversions, and severity, I shall act directly contrary to the rule, which I have been establishing. Whoever therefore, or whatever this person was, let him be buried in silence. It would be of some benefit, for example sake, to expose him; but not to expose him, is much more humane. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

It is impossible to have lived long in the world, without having frequently observed the set of men described by PLINY
 in

in the beginning of this epistle. The malevolence, which man bears to man, is not to be paralleled in any other part of the creation: nor are the brutes subject to the shameful passions, to which the human species is liable. The fiercest animals of prey seek for blood as their food, not as their honour. And they bear no other malice to their fellow creature, than what is occasioned by jealousy in concupiscence, or appetite in hunger. But reflexions of this kind, as they border upon severity and censure, are improper for this epistle; in which *PLINY* (without knowing it) acts, as if he had been influenced by the doctrines so excellently and so frequently expanded, throughout the gospel of *CHRIST*.

E P I S T L E XXIII.

PLINY to MARCELLINUS.

MY affliction is so very great, for the death of *JUNIUS AVITUS*, that it has interrupted all my studies, disengaged me from all other cares, and banished me from all amusements. In my house he first put on the senatorial habit: by my interest he was assisted, whenever he solicited any public honours; and besides, he had such an affection and respect for me, that he formed his manners by my direction, and received instruction from me, as from a master. Among our young men such an instance was uncommon; for, which of them will allow a superior on account of his age or dignity? They imagine, that at once they are arrived to the highest pitch of wisdom, and of learning. They think no person worthy of their regard, or their imitation. They look upon their own actions as the most perfect models. But *AVITUS*, on the contrary, gave the greatest instance of his wisdom, in esteeming others wiser than himself, and of his learning, in being desirous of instruction. His conversation always turned on some point relating to his studies, or conduct in life. He

constantly parted from his friends, whose advice he had desired, with a conscious pleasure of being improved: and this improvement was owing to that attention, with which he heard others, and to the strict inquiries he made upon all subjects whatever.

What respect did he pay to SERVIANUS, a man of a most compleat character? It was his office, as military tribune, to escort SERVIANUS, when he was appointed legate. AVITUS performed this part in such a manner, and so agreeably to the legate's temper, that when he passed through *Germany* into *Pannonia*^c, he seemed to attend the legate rather as a companion and favorite, than an officer who served under him. With what moderation and industry, when quæstor, did he approve himself to his consuls (who were not few in number) appearing not more acceptable, and agreeable to them, on account of his public services, than for his amiable cast of mind? With what assiduity and care did he solicit the post of ædile, from which he was thus immaturely taken away? It is this consideration aggravates my sorrow. His unrewarded labours, his solicitations (now fruitless) and the honour, which, although conferred on him, was not enjoyed, are perpetually before my eyes. I reflect on the circumstance of the senatorial habit, which first graced him in my house; my voice for his first and last preferment; our private conferences, and the consultations, which we held on these occasions, still return upon my mind. His youth, which promised a long course of years, and the misfortune of his family, whose happiness absolutely depended on his life, successively afflict me.

He had an aged parent. He had a wife, whom, scarce a year before, he had taken a virgin to his arms. He had a daughter lately born. So many

^c The situation and extent of *Pannonia* is given by DION CASSIUS, with a description of the inhabitants extremely curious. Vide DION. Hist. Rom. lib. 59. page 413.

hopes,

hopes, and so many joys, are utterly destroyed by one day. When he was just appointed ædile, (having only a short time enjoyed the delights of a husband, and the happiness of a father) he left that post of honour before he had exercised any of the duties annexed to it. He left his mother without a son, his wife a widow, his daughter an infant, deprived of the knowledge of her father. By having been absent, and entirely ignorant of this impending misfortune, my grief has been much encreased. I heard, at the same time, both of his sickness, and his death; and I had no opportunity, even by my fears, to prepare myself for so terrible a blow.

I had written so far under the immediate influence of my very great distress: I could write only upon that subject; nor am I yet able to apply my thoughts or conversation to any other. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This is the second, and the last epistle to MARCELLINUS^d. The sixth epistle of the second book is addressed to JUNIUS AVITUS, whose death is lamented here.

Latum clavum in domo meâ induerat: "He put on his senatorial habit in my house:" or, "He dressed himself in my house, the first time that he was to take his seat as a senator." Sorrow never fails to nourish itself, by every trifling circumstance, that can be recollected.

Although the learned are much divided in their opinions of the particular manner, in which the *Latus Clavus*^e was worn, yet they all agree, that it was an ensign of dignity appropriated to senators, prætors, and the chief magistrates of colonies, and municipal cities. The *Augustus Clavus* was, I think, confined entirely to the Roman knights. STA-

^d See the 12th ep. of the 4th book; and the 16th ep. of the 5th book, with the observations upon those epistles.

^e MONSIEUR DACIER says, *dans tout ce qui regarde les habits des anciens, il n'y a rien, sur quoi les savans soient si peu d'accord, que sur le LATICLAVE et l'ANGUSTICLAVE*. See *les remarques sur la sat. 5. du liv. 1. d'HORACE*.

TIUS, I remember, calls it *clavus pauper*. But these particular distinctions in dress are mentioned by so many authors, that they need not be discussed in this place.

Qua vigilantia, hanc ipsam ædilitatem, cui præreptus est, petiit? “With what remarkable industry did he offer himself for the ædileship, the post, from which he has so lately been snatched away?” JUNIUS AVITUS was certainly one of the *ædiles majores*, or *curules*, who were always of patrician families, and chosen from among the senators; and who, besides the several duties incumbent upon the *ædiles plebeii*, or *minores*, were obliged, at their own charge*, to entertain the people with shews of gladiators, comedies, and other public diversions. So expensive an employment was seldom sought after, except by persons of very considerable fortunes, or of great ambition; many, in the time of AUGUSTUS, having declined it, as an office rather ruinous, than advantageous.

This epistle, by the two last paragraphs, seems to have been written immediately after the death of JUNIUS AVITUS; but not to have been sent to MARCELLINUS till after some interval of time; at least the original will bear such a construction. *In tantis tormentis eram, cum scriberem hæc, scriberem sola:* “The above written was dictated in the excess of my grief: I could apply my pen only to that theme.” *Neque enim nunc aliud aut cogitare, aut loqui possum:* “Nor am I yet able to recall my thoughts, or discourse, to any other subject.” As if PLINY, perhaps in answer to MARCELLINUS, had intended to have mentioned some particular business; and with that view had delayed his own letter, but finding himself still under the same oppression of sorrow, had now sent away his epistle, as an excuse for the omission. PLINY loved all his friends in so sincere a manner, that when any one of the number died, his affliction must have been of long continuance.

* The fines and public farms appropriated to the expences of this employment were inconsiderable; and therefore the curule ædiles seldom made use of any part of that revenue; by which instance of liberality, they insinuated themselves into the favour of the people, and were more easily promoted to other offices.

EPISTLE XXIV.

PLINY to MAXIMUS.

I AM obliged, by my affection to you, not to direct, (for you do not want a director) but to advise you to exert, with the utmost attention, all your abilities, and, if necessary, to give them greater force than usual. Consider, that you are sent into the province of *Achaia*: that true and genuine *Greece*, from whence an elegance of manners, from whence learning, and even agriculture are supposed to have taken their origin. That you are sent to regulate the conduct of free cities, that is, to men, who have the greatest right to be free; who have secured the possession of this natural right by their virtue, by their great actions, by their friendship to us; and, finally, by their most solemn and sacred alliances. Pay a reverence to the Gods, founders of their state, and to their godlike heroes: pay a reverence to that glory, in which they appeared so many ages past, and even to that antiquity, which in men is venerable, in cities sacred. Let the date of their origin, their real great actions, and even their fabulous traditions, receive from you all possible marks of honour. Take care not to extenuate the least part of the dignity, of the liberty, or even of the pomp of any individual. Still keep in your view, that this is the place, which sent laws to us, not as to a conquered nation, but at our own request. That it is *Athens*, to which you go. That it is *Lacedæmon* you are to govern. That to take from them the remaining shadow, and only the surviving name of liberty, would be cruel, inhuman, and barbarous. You see, that physicians treat those, who are free, with more tenderness than slaves, where there is no real difference in their disorder. Remember the former state of every city, but not despicably to compare it with its present situation.

Let there not be the least appearance of pride, or severity, in your conduct, nor imagine, that you will be contemned for the want of either. Can he, who is invested with power, and ensigns of authority, be contemptible, unless he first debases himself, by being servile and avaricious? It is a wretched instance of power to be capable of offering injuries to others. The respect, which proceeds from fear, is a bad acquisition. That submission to your orders, which arises from affection, is more to be depended upon, than that which proceeds from fear. Because fear vanishes with your absence, but affection is permanent: nay, the one is changed into hatred, the other into an awful esteem. But it is incumbent upon you frequently (for I must repeat what I have said) to recollect the nature of your office; and, from your own judgement, to fix what extent is allowed to it in regulating the government of free cities. For what is of more consequence in civil society, than an equitable rule of government? What is of greater value than liberty! Again, what can be more infamous, than a subversion of order into confusion, and of liberty into slavery? To these motives I must add, that the character, which you have already acquired, engages you now to defend it. The high reputation, which you brought back with you from your quaestorship in *Bithynia*, requires to be sustained. The esteem of the emperor, your late tribuneship, your praetorship, your present appointment, given as a reward to your merit, all, all require it. On which account you must, with the greater attention, exert yourself, that you may not appear to have acted with more humanity, integrity, and skill, in a foreign province, than in one nearer to *Rome*; among slaves, than among a free people; that you may not appear to have been sent thither by chance, but chosen from judgement; that you were not inexperienced and obscure, but tried and approved. For undoubtedly, as you must have
often

often heard, and read, it is much more dishonourable to lose a fair character, than never to have gained it. I must entreat you to believe, as I said in the beginning of my letter, that this is not written in a dictating spirit, but is the advice offered by a friend: although I must still insist on what I have said; for I have no apprehension, that my friendship can carry me too far, nor indeed is there any danger of transgressing, where the limits ought to be unbounded. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

Among all PLINY's epistles, this will appear one of the finest. The subject of it, we may perceive, had most deeply engaged his attention; and he thinks, that he cannot give too much strength to his arguments. It is difficult to allot to every expression all the force and energy, which it ought to receive. Particular words and phrases undoubtedly conveyed a different idea to a Roman, than the same sentences convey to us. Thus in the first paragraph, *ut quæ scis teneas et observes, aut scias melius*, the construction will be just, "That you may retain and preserve your knowledge or improve it:" But no regular meaning will arise from thence; *scias melius* seems to signify, "You should exert your abilities more than usual." The art of translation, my dear CHARLES, is neither to run into unwarrantable freedoms, nor to suffer yourself to be too closely confined. An axiom, which will hold equally good in life, as in literature.

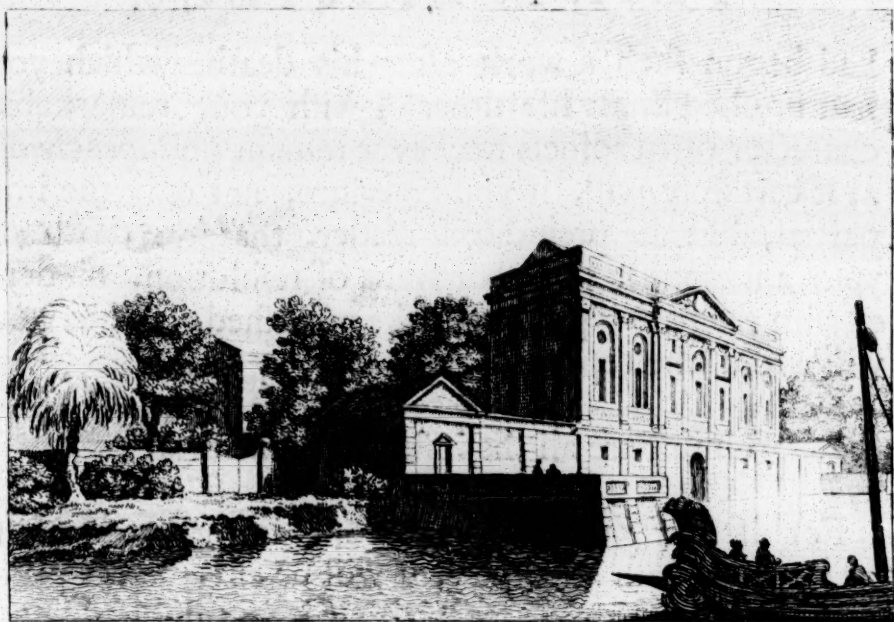
Cogita, te missum in provinciam Achaïam, illam veram et meram Græciam, in qua primum humanitas, literæ, etiam fruges inventæ esse creduntur: "Reflect that you are sent into the province of Achaia, that true and primitive Greece; in which humanity and literature first took their rise: Nay, to which we are thought to be indebted for the very cultivation of every sort of grain that supports us." Achaia, although confined within a small compass, yet pro-

² Achaia properly signifies, in this epistle, the part of Peloponnesus, which was originally distinguished by that denomination. When the Romans reduced all Greece to a province, they divided it into two parts, Macedonia and Achaia, by which means they allotted to each a much larger extent of territory, than either of those provinces had enjoyed before. duced

duced greater men, than could be equalled in number or abilities in all the other parts of the world. Literature and the sciences not only took their first root there, but grew to a surprising perfection. Agriculture, and several mechanic arts, owe their original to that soil, which seems indeed to have been under a particular influence of heaven. PLINY therefore could not give a greater instance of his love of learning and humanity, than in his particular regard to these people and their cities. He pays a veneration even to their ruins; for although their former state was exalted to the highest pitch of glory, yet nothing could be more degenerate than their condition, when this epistle was sent to MAXIMUS. Even in the time of CICERO, they were as remarkable for their levity, as they had been for their constancy; for their vices and luxury, as they had been for their virtues and temperance; for their ignorance, except in some few instances, as they had been for their learning. These were the natural effects of their loss of liberty. A melancholy fate! which, sooner or later, seems prepared for every nation in the world.

The END of the EIGHTH BOOK.





Wale inv.

Donneau f.

PLINY'S EPISTLES.

BOOK IX.

EPISTLE I.

PLINY *to* MAXIMUS.



Have often advised you to publish, as soon as possible, either the tracts which you have composed in justification of yourself, or those, which you have written against PLANTA. Each indeed, (for so the subject required,) was against him, and in your own defence. But his death, of which I am now informed, obliges me particularly to recommend and renew my desire : for although you have read those books to many friends, and have allowed them to be read by many more, I should be extremely sorry to have it a prevailing opinion, that you had

had begun such a work after his death, which you had finished in his life-time. I wish your remarkable character of steadiness may ever remain unimpeached; as it certainly will, if you convince, not only the impartial, but the prejudiced reader, that the death of your antagonist, not your want of resolution, hindered him from seeing these books published. Thus you will avoid the reproach, that says,

Unjust are all the insults o'er the dead^r.

For if you publish your work immediately after the death of your adversary, it will be esteemed as published in his life-time; especially if it was finished, and rehearsed before his decease. Postpone therefore any other undertaking, that you have in hand; and finish this performance, which to me, when I read it some time ago, seemed entirely perfect: let it now seem so to you; since the work itself requires no farther delay, and the particular juncture of time demands expedition. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

Sæpe te monui, ut libros quos vel pro te, vel in PLANTAM: “ I have often admonished you to publish those books, “ which are in your own defence, or rather against PLANTAM.” The commentators have taken notice, that in some old editions of PLINY, the proper name BLATERA, is read instead of PLANTA, and LONGOLIUS is so inclined to that reading, that he begins the argument to this letter in these words, *Maximum monet, ut libros, quos in BLATERAM viventem, &c.* However in other editions, and even afterwards in LONGOLIUS, we find the name of PLANTA in full force. A sentence in this epistle justifies the preference, although it seems not to have been taken notice of by any of the scholiasts. *Salva sit tibi constantiæ fama:* “ May the character,

^r Οὐχ ὅσιον, φθιμένοις ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχάλασθαι. Homer. Odyss. lib. 22. γ. 412.

“ which

“ which you have acquired, of resolute firmness, be entirely perfect and unimpeached.” POMPEIUS PLANTA had not only been governor of *Ægypt*, but was the particular friend of TRAJAN^b. He mentions him as such in a letter to PLINY, where he says, *tu, ex quo nomen sit, notum mihi facere debebis, ut epistolam tibi ad POMPEIUM PLANTAM præfectum Ægypti, amicum meum, mittam*ⁱ: “ You should let me know “ to what province of *Ægypt* he belongs, that I may send “ to you a letter for my friend POMPEIUS PLANTA, the “ præfect of *Ægypt*.” Any accusation therefore against the emperor’s friend, and favorite, must have been an instance of a resolute and intrepid mind in the accuser; and must have secured to him that character of steadiness, which PLINY admires, and endeavours to perpetuate. The governors of *Ægypt* were frequently very oppressive and unjust. And as the tracts, mentioned in the beginning of this epistle, are said to have been in defence of MAXIMUS, and in accusation of PLANTA; it is probable, that MAXIMUS had either preceded, or followed PLANTA, in the government of that province.

^b No traces of BLATERA can possibly be found.

ⁱ Lib. 10. ep. 23.

E P I S T L E II.

P L I N Y to S A B I N U S.

YOU oblige me extremely by desiring me not only to encrease the number, but the length of my letters. I was the more cautious in these particulars, as, on the one hand, I was in fear of breaking in upon your employments; and, on the other, I was very much and very frequently engaged in disagreeable affairs, that at once embarrassed my mind, and suppressed my vivacity. Besides, I want materials for an epistolary correspondence. The situation of TULLY, whose example you incite me to follow, was different from mine; for his genius was naturally extensive, and was amply supplied by the various and great events of those times. You must certainly perceive, without
my

my information, in what narrow limits I am confined; unless I were willing to send you letters, in the nature of school exercises upon trifling subjects. But in my opinion, such topics would be entirely improper, when I consider you in a camp, amidst arms, with all the noise of war about you, or exposed to the sun, and covered with sweat and dust. I have now sent you, as I imagine, a just excuse; but can scarce prevail upon myself to wish, that you may approve of it. For certainly no stronger evidence of friendship can appear, than to be dissatisfied with the apologies of a friend for a short letter, although those apologies are founded in reason. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

In the eighteenth epistle of this book, we shall find, that SABINUS, who, in this epistle, is mentioned as a soldier, was a professed admirer of all PLINY's works. His relations were so numerous, and we find so few traces of himself, that, as has been already hinted, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to fix the certainty of the person, to whom this letter is directed. Men of the highest distinction, of the name SABINUS, are frequently mentioned by TACITUS, and other historians; and particularly FLAVIUS SABINUS. He was cousin german to DOMITIAN, and colleague to that emperor, in his eighth consulship, and in the second year of his reign. The public crier, in declaring the consuls of the year, had unhappily mistaken, and named SABINUS as emperor: A mistake, which gave such unreasonable jealousy to DOMITIAN, that he put his kinsman to death, without the least colour of any crime. SABINUS had some time before married JUNIA, the daughter of the late emperor TITUS; an alliance, which had probably given the original cause of this jealousy; since it seemed to render him still a nearer, and a more approaching rival to the throne. In the murder of FLAVIUS SABINUS, was first discovered the sanguinary disposition of DOMITIAN's mind: till then, he had satiated his cruelty upon flies only; he now began to sacrifice the human species, and to embrue his hands in the blood of his fellow-creatures.

At

At this time, *PLINY* was about one or two and twenty years of age; he was too young to be at the head of any councils, or to conduct any measures, that might have been concerted for the relief of his unhappy country. The noble spirit of freedom, that so often burst forth in the days of *TULLY*, was long since evaporated. And therefore we are to attribute to the different situation of the times, as is modestly hinted in this letter, the inferior character, which *PLINY* bears to *CICERO*. The same occasions of exerting a great genius did not offer themselves to the former, as to the latter. *CICERO*, who lived at a time, when his country was on fire, was perpetually and eminently employed in extinguishing the flames: he perished in the attempt; and *PLINY* lived only to weep over the ashes.

E P I S T L E III.

PLINY to *VALERIUS PAULLINUS*.

O THERS may think as they please; but he, who is fixed in the presumptive assurance of an excellent and lasting name, and who, from a certainty of being applauded by posterity, lives in a constant view of future glory, appears to me to be the happiest man. For my own part, unless I had before my eyes the reward of an unperishable character, the softest and the greatest indolence possible would be most agreeable to my disposition. For, in my opinion, all men ought to consider, that they may either be mortal or immortal. Those, who can acquire immortality, ought to exert themselves to the utmost of their power. Those, who can attain no such acquisition, ought to be entirely quiet and resigned; nor torment themselves, as I see many, with such fruitless labours, during the course of a very short life, as lead them to their state of oblivion, by a specious kind of industry, that is at once painful and disagreeable.

I communicate these thoughts to you, as they daily occur to myself; so that, if you dissent from me, I
may

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may change my manner of thinking. But you will certainly agree with me, because you are always employed in some noble and immortal work. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

Omnes homines arbitror oportere, aut immortalitatem suam aut mortalitatem cogitare: "It is my opinion, that it be-
 " comes all men to consider, whether they are likely to be
 " mortal or immortal." Our author, in this place, speaking of eternity and immortality, must be understood only to mean, the immortality of a good name, and the eternity of an excellent character. The next sentence confirms this interpretation, *et illos quidem contendere, eniti; hos quiescere, remitti, nec brevem vitam caducis laboribus fatigare:* "Let
 " those, says he, who have abilities to secure to themselves
 " the perpetuity of a great character, exert their powers,
 " and shine forth in their native splendor: but let all others,
 " who have not such endowments, rest quiet in their obscurity: life is short; they should endeavour therefore to
 " pass it over in present ease and tranquillity; since the
 " utmost labours cannot secure to them a future reputation, unless nature has originally established the foundation." CATANÆUS imagines, that the expression, *caducis laboribus fatigare,* "to fatigue themselves with perishable
 " toil," alludes to covetousness: his note is, [*CADUCIS*] *morte interituris. Respicit illos, qui avaritiæ causa tot periculis et laboribus vitam exponunt, et ideo industrii haberi volunt:* "It regards them, who, from avarice, expose their
 " lives to so many perils and dangers, and therefore would
 " wish to be esteemed men of industry." But the scholiast is mistaken: the whole letter refers to that immortal share of renown, which may be acquired by men of genius, and to the oblivion and contempt, in which men of inferior capacities, notwithstanding their continual pains, must necessarily perish.

EPISTLE

E P I S T L E IV.

P L I N Y to M A C R I N U S.

I Should be under apprehensions, that you must think the oration, which you will receive with this letter, of an immoderate length, unless the paragraphs were disposed in such a manner, that you might either begin, or leave off, as often as you please. For each accusation may be considered as a distinct subject. Begin therefore where you will, and end where you will, the sequel will be as coherent, as if you had read the whole from the very beginning. And although the work, when entire, may appear very long, the several parts, when divided, will appear very short. Adieu.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

The commentators are of opinion, that the oration, mentioned here by PLINY, is the pleading, which, as advocate for the Andalusians, he pronounced against their proconsul CÆCILIUS CLASSICUS. This epistle therefore ought to have followed the fourth epistle of the third book, addressed to MACRINUS, containing an account of the reasons, which induced PLINY to undertake that cause. The particulars of the trial are mentioned to MINUTIANUS, in the ninth epistle of the third book; and PLINY there says, agreeably to the several divisions hinted at in this epistle, *nam [causa] fuit multiplex, ætæque est sæpius cum magna varietate*: “ For “ the cause was much diffused, and was pleaded often with “ great variety.”

E P I S T L E V.

P L I N Y to C A L E S T R I U S T Y R O.

THE humanity, which accompanies your acts of justice in your province, (for I continually
 Vol. II. Q enquire

enquire after you) deserves the utmost applause. For it is a chief part of justice to distinguish all persons of merit, and to acquire the love of the common people, in such a manner, as not to forfeit the esteem of their superiors. For many, from a fear of being suspected to favour men of high rank and power, have drawn upon themselves the imputation of a wrong, and even of an ill-natured disposition. I know you have kept perfectly clear from such errors; but at the same time when I praise you, I cannot refrain from giving you this particular advice, to keep up that distinction among the several orders and degrees of men, which is due to them: for, if once they are confounded, and all thrown upon a level, nothing can be more unequal, than that kind of equality. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

The several editions of PLINY differ in the first paragraph of this epistle. LONGOLIUS prints it thus, *Egregiè facis (inquiero enim) et persevera, quod justitiam tuam provincialibus multa humanitate commendas.* The construction of which would run thus. "The humanity, that accompanies your acts of justice in your province, deserves the utmost applause. Go on in that track." I have followed the reading of CELLARIUS, as it seems more consonant to the tenor of the epistle. *Egregiè facis (inquiero enim, et perseverè) quod justitiam tuam, &c.*

In the twenty second epistle of the sixth book, PLINY advises TYRO to take warning, from the example of BRUTIANUS, and ATTICINUS, in what manner to behave himself during his proconsulship. In this letter he applauds the behaviour of TYRO, and still offers to him some excellent and amicable advice. CALESTRIUS TYRO we find, by the sixteenth epistle of the seventh book, was appointed proconsul of *Andalusia*, after having filled many other great offices of the state.

EPISTLE

E P I S T L E VI.

P L I N Y *to* C A L V I S I U S .

I Have been of late most agreeably employed, both in reading and writing. You say, “How is that possible in the midst of *Rome*?” It happened during the celebration of the Circensian games; a diversion, that gives me no sort of pleasure, as it affords neither novelty, nor variety, nor any thing worth seeing twice. For which reason, I am the more surprized, that so many thousand people should be childishly desirous to see over and over, a parcel of race-horses, and their charioteers. If, however, either the speed of the former, or the skill of the latter, excited their curiosity, they would be in some measure excusable. But it is the *colour of the riders*, that attracts their attention. So that if the racers, during the course, and in the midst of the contest, should change their dress, their several partisans would immediately change sides, and would desert those very men and horses to whom before their whole observance had been attached, and whom they had encouraged by the loudest acclamations: Of so great authority and power is a despicable garment. I take no notice of the vulgar; they are still more despicable, than the objects, which they admire. But when I consider, that a thing of this kind, trifling, insipid, and repeated as it is, can make men of sense insatiably desirous of seeing it, I am not displeased, that I cannot relish such an entertainment. And during this festival, I pass my leisure most agreeably in study; while others are losing their time in the most idle amusements. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

We cannot be surprized to find a man of PLINY's disposition utterly averse to the noise and bustle of the Circensian games. The several particulars mentioned in this epistle entirely confirm the accounts of these annual entertainments, that are either touched upon, or more fully discussed, by a variety of authors. The *circus* was appropriated to all kinds of public diversion: But here PLINY confines himself solely to the chariot races; the factions of which were distinguished by the colours of those habits, in which the charioteers were clothed: they were white, red, green, and blue. And the people, who severally espoused those colours, were themselves distinguished by the names of the colours, which they favoured. It is from hence that PLINY makes this observation; *si in ipso cursu, medioque certamine, hic color illuc, ille huc transferatur, studium favorque transibit, et repente agitantes illos, equos illos, quos procul noscitant, quorum clamitant nomina, relinquent*: "Change the colour, says he, of the charioteer, and you change the hearts of the people, who favour the performers, not for their skill, but for the colour of their garments."

The clearest and shortest account of these racers is gathered from antiquity by a very modern author, *Agitatores Circenses in quaternas factiones dispescebantur, quæ et diverso vestitu diversas anni horas repræsentarent, scilicet, prasina, ver, ruffea æstatem, alba autumnum, et veneta hyemem*. DOMITIANUS duas alias addidit, *purpuream et auratam, quæ tamen non durasse videntur, cum de illis postea sit altum silentium*: "The contenders in the Circensian games were divided into four factions, each of which, by a different dress, represented the seasons of the year: for example, the green denoted spring; the red, summer; the white, autumn; the blue, winter. DOMITIAN added two others, the purple and gold colour; but it is probable, they were of no long continuance, as no notice is taken of them after his reign ^a."

^a ALEXANDER is of opinion, that the Circensian games of Rome were of the same kind and institution, as the Olympic games of Greece. Vide ALEX. ab ALEX. Lib. 5. cap. 8.

E P I S T L E VII.

P L I N Y to V O C O N I U S R O M A N U S.

I AM pleased to find by your letter, that you have begun to build. I have from thence an excuse for my works of that kind. For, now it may be said, I build with good reason, since I follow your example. Nor are our situations unlike: you build near the sea. I am at the same distance from the Larian lake. Upon the borders of it I have several seats; two of which, as they give me the greatest delight, so they employ my greatest attention. One of them is placed upon a rock, and commands the lake; the other is close to the water; both in the manner of those at *Baïæ*. Thus, alluding to the grandeur of the buskin, and the plainness of the sock, I call the former my *tragedy*, the latter my *comedy*. Each of them has particular beauties; a diversity, which renders them to their master still more agreeable. One has a nearer, the other a more distant view of the lake. One, by a gentle curve in the building, forms a single bay; the other, being built upon a greater height, forms two. Here, you may ride in a long avenue by the side of the lake; there, you may walk down an extensive and easy terrace.

One of these houses is not within reach of the waves; and they are broken and repulsed by the other. From the former, you can discern the people fishing; from the latter, you may angle yourself, and, as if you lay in a fishing boat, may throw your line out of your bedchamber, and almost from your bed. My reason for making the additions, that are wanting to these places, is, because they are already so beautiful. But why should I give you a reason, when, by following your example, my inducement must appear to you? Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

Inveni patrociniū: "I have found a justifiable example." It is difficult to know what PLINY means by this expression: both the beginning and the end of the letter contain excuses for building at a place, of which the description not only justifies, but even demands an undertaking of that kind; unless there were some reasons to the contrary, that are not deducible from any expressions in this letter.

Ego ad Larium lacum: "I am building at the Larian lake." PLINY's hereditary fortune, as appears from many of his letters, was situated upon the borders of the *Lago di Como*. This lake, from the most southern part of it, the city of *Comum*, in which PLINY was born, extends itself, according to some geographers, thirty miles in length; but in breadth scarce above five. According to ORTELIUS, the length is fifty, the breadth ten miles.

Hujus in littore plures villæ meæ: "Upon this shore I have several country seats." This expression puts me in mind, that the country villas of the Romans were not only very numerous, as has been before observed, but that the persons of the first quality at *Rome* had several different houses even in the city, which were called *mutatoria*; as places built merely for the change of abode.

Illam tragædiam, hanc appellare comædiam soleo: "One I call my tragedy, the other my comedy." These two houses, under the names of tragedy and comedy, as here distinguished, are given to us by ORTELIUS in his map of *Gallia Cisalpina*. The one placed on the west, the other on the east side of the Larian lake. The reason, assigned by PLINY, for their different appellations, according to the sock and buskin, is rather trifling and jejune, than apposite, or ingenious.

Illic recta gestatio longo limite super littus extenditur; hic spatiosissimo xysto leviter inflectitur: "At this part is the place of exercise, extending itself a long way in a strait line upon the shore; at the other end it winds a little into a spacious terrace." PLINY never fails, in the description of his villas, to introduce the *gestatio* and *xystus*. Although the usual form of the *gestatio* was generally circular, or as PLINY tells us, *in modum circi*^b; yet here it appears of a

^b Lib. 5. ep. 6.

different shape, and of a great length. The reason may be assumed from a passage in MERCURIALIS, who says, CÆLIUS AURELIANUS *judicavit, capitis dolore vexatos per longam viam gestari debere, ne frequenti versione ægrotanti vertigo induceretur*^c: “CÆLIUS AURELIANUS directed those, who
 “were troubled with head-achs, to use exercise in a long
 “strait road; lest by going round in a circular form they
 “might be subject to vertigos, or other inconveniencies.” The physicians in PLINY’s days might probably be of the same opinion. The *xystrus*, I think, when belonging to any private person, always signifies a terrace: in this particular epistle we find it was a declining terrace, that led by a gentle descent from the villa to the lake. The public *xystræ*, and *xystræ*, have been elsewhere explained^d.

I am inclined to imagine, that this letter was written very early in PLINY’s life; before he was in possession of his house in *Latium*, or in *Tuscany*; when his fortune was much circumscribed; and when his expences of building might be censured as extravagant and unnecessary. Such a supposition at least accounts for the expression, *ædifico enim jam ratione, quia tecum*: “For now I build with just reason, because I follow your example,” and for the whole tenor of the epistle. The situation of the *tragædia* and *comædia*, the latter of which was so convenient for the pleasure of fishing, must have been extremely beautiful.

^c Lib. 6. cap. 10.

^d In the essay on PLINY’s life.

E P I S T L E VIII.

PLINY to AUGURINUS.

AS I have been praised by you, if I begin to praise you, it will seem rather an act of my gratitude, than of my judgement. But let the appearance be what it will, I must esteem all your writings excellent; particularly those, in which I am mentioned. This opinion proceeds from one and the same reason. For you write extremely well upon whatever subject concerns your friends; and I read

with remarkable pleasure, whatever subject concerns myself. Adieu.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

This short epistle is written in the excess of vanity. The last paragraph, in the original, is not only vain, but quibbling. *Nam et tu, quæ de amicis, optimè scribis: et ego quæ de me, ut optima, lego:* "For as the letters concerning your friends are very well written, so with those concerning myself, I am very well pleased." I am afraid, that from these affected, ostentatious letters, PLINY has too justly drawn upon himself the censure of MONTAGNE, and other modern critics. Vanity, like smog, smothers and obscures the flame, from whence it proceeds,

E P I S T L E IX.

P L I N Y to C O L O N.

I Approve entirely of the grief, which you express upon the death of POMPEIUS QUINTIANUS. Your sorrow shews the extent of your affection towards the friend, whom you have lost. You are far from resembling those, (and they are many in number,) who can only love the living, or, rather, can only seem to love them; nor even are able to carry on that appearance, unless the persons are not only living, but prosperous: for the unhappy, and the dead, are equally forgotten. But your friendship is continual; and there is a constancy in your affection, that can only end with your life. QUINTIANUS indeed was a man, who ought to be beloved in the same manner, in which he loved others. He loved his friends in their prosperity; he defended them in their adversity; and lamented them when dead. What a sincerity appeared in his countenance! How much deliberation in his manner of speaking! With what easy freedom was he both serious and chearful! How great
was

was his attachment to literature? How discerning his judgement? What filial piety did he shew to a father, who was the reverse of him in every respect? Nor did his duty to such a father hinder him from appearing at once the best of sons, and the best of men. But why should I imbitter your affliction? Yet still I know you loved this young man so sincerely, that you rather chuse I should speak of him in this manner, than be silent; especially as you imagine, that by my accounts of him, his life may be illustrated, his memory preserved, and his character restored to the present age, from whence he is so lately snatched away. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This is the only epistle extant to COLON. No traces are to be found of him. — In the observations upon the thirty second epistle of the sixth book, conjectures, which amount to some degree of probability, are offered in proof, that the epistle, which is generally supposed to be addressed to QUINTILIAN, is, in reality, addressed to QUINTIANUS, whose character is here so finely drawn.

The reflexions, in the beginning of this letter, are perfectly just. The dead, and the unfortunate, are soon and willfully forgotten. Power and prosperity can only attract, or retain followers. A modern story may serve to illustrate the assertions of PLINY. A certain person of distinction, the morning after the late Lord Treasurer OXFORD had resigned his staff to the Queen, came to his Lordship's door, and was very solicitous to be admitted to his presence. The porter, JOHN READ, well versed in the art of giving denial to visitors, made solemn protestations, that his Lord was not at home. The gentleman, equally well versed in the art of gaining admittance, smilingly replied, *I am certain, JOHN, that your Lord is at home: here is half a crown to let me up stairs.* “ Well, Sir, your honour may go up: but I suppose you know, that my Lord resigned his staff last night, and that it is given to the Duke of SHREWSBURY.” *No, I profess, till this moment I heard nothing of the matter. Be so kind, JOHN, to accept of this other half crown, not to discover,*

discover, that I have been here. Coachman, drive away to the Duke of SHREWSBURY'S.

EPISTLE X.

PLINY to CORNELIUS TACITUS.

I Should with great pleasure obey your commands, if boars were not so very scarce, as to afford me no opportunity of paying equal worship, which you affirm to be due, both to MINERVA and to DIANA. I must therefore dedicate myself only to MINERVA; but cautiously, as is suitable to the retirement of this place, and the heat of this season.

In my way hither, I amused myself by writing some trifles, fit only to be destroyed, their stile resembling the idle conversation of travellers upon the road. I have made additions to them since my arrival here, when nothing of more consequence engaged my attention. Those poems therefore, which you imagined might have been easily brought to perfection amidst woods and groves, have lain entirely at rest. I have retouched one or two of my orations; although that kind of employment is neither agreeable nor engaging. It resembles the labours, rather than the pleasures, of the country. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

An idle surmise has arisen, that this epistle is not the letter of PLINY, but of TACITUS, and is in answer to the sixth epistle of the first book. The criticism itself is equally unimportant, and groundless: the different opinions of CASAUBON and CATANÆUS are given to us by LONGOLIUS*: but they are followed by the positive decision of GASPAR BARTHIIUS, which seems perfectly just: *Omniño PLINII est, nihil ad TACITUM*: “ It is absolutely a letter

* Page 646.

“ from

“ from PLINY, not from TACITUS.” The letter itself is so trifling, that it is scarce worth while to consider, by whom it was written.

E P I S T L E XI.

PLINY to DUCENNIUS GEMINUS.

I Have received your letter, which was perfectly acceptable to me, as you desire my answer to be such, as may be inserted in your works. I shall write to you in that manner; either upon the subject you proposed, or, upon some better; for several objections have occurred to me, upon that particular point: re-examine it, and they will occur to you. I did not think, that any booksellers had been settled in *Lugdunum*^f; and therefore your information of the sale of my books gave me the greater pleasure; being much rejoiced to know, that they still support, in foreign parts, the same degree of applause, which they had acquired in *Rome*. I begin now to esteem them in reality, as they have met with approbation in a variety of countries, and among a variety of judgments. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

These few lines seem a prelude to some future composition, which was to be written in a manner, and upon a subject, adapted to appear among the works of GEMINUS. But even from this short epistle we find cause to regret many valuable pieces, already composed by PLINY, and in the highest reputation, not only in *Italy*, but in *France*.

Bibliopolas Lugduni esse non putabam: “ I thought there “ was not a bookseller at *Lyons*.” A particular reason may be assigned, why PLINY might suppose, that no bookseller was

^f The city of *Lyons*. Authors vary in the etymology of *Lugdunum*; but, if we adhere to the most antient derivation, it was built by LUGDUS, a King of *Celtæ*: and, by contraction for *Lugdi-dunum*, was called *Lugdunum*, the hill of LUGDUS.

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as yet settled in this capital of the *Lyonnois*. *Lugdunum* was burnt by lightning in the time of NERO: I think in the fourth year of his reign. It was so utterly demolished, that the emperor himself, then apparently generous and compassionate, contributed a large sum towards rebuilding it. But as the re-establishment of commerce, and opulence, to so large a city, must be a work of much labour, and of many years, it might well be doubted, or, as PLINY says, [*non putabam*] it could scarce be thought, that learning had again taken sufficient root there, to encourage and support the trade of publishing and selling books.

EPISTLE XII.

PLINY to TERENTIUS JUNIOR.

A Certain person severely reproved his son, because he was too expensive and ostentatious in dogs and horses. When the young man was absent, I said to my friend, *Hark you, have you never been guilty of an action, for which you deserved your father's correction? Most certainly you have, I affirm it. Are you not still guilty of actions, for which, if your situations were changed, your son might, with the same authority, reprimand you? Are not all men liable to accidental errors? Has not each of us some peculiar passion, to which he is devoted?* As I was much struck with this instance of immoderate severity, the mutual friendship between you and me made me think this letter necessary, lest you should treat your son in too harsh, and too austere a manner. Reflect, that he is very young, and that you yourself have been young; and exert your paternal authority in such a manner, as may shew, you remember yourself to be a man, and the father of a man. Farewell,

OBSER.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

From this epistle we may perfectly judge, in how amiable a light, and with what additional splendor, *PLINY* would have appeared, if he had been a father. The unbounded sweetness of his nature might have made us conclude in general, that his tenderness, as a father, would have been no less eminent than his other virtues. But his thoughts are here particularly expressed; and we are convinced, that he would have preserved the character of a kind parent, without forfeiting the character of a prudent man. Certainly, some of *PLINY*'s epistles are written in such a spirit of benevolence, as cannot be paralleled in any author. This seems to be one of that number. The maxims, here prescribed, must be of infinite benefit in the education of children; a point so extremely difficult, that the wisest men have often erred in it, by an excess of fondness, or by a tyrannical severity. The latter is undoubtedly to be avoided; because the temper, that requires to be so treated, is incapable of receiving benefit from the treatment. On the other hand, an improper and unlimited indulgence may be equally dangerous. The father should not be austere, nor the son impatient: the former should, according to *PLINY*'s advice, recollect, that he has been young: and the latter should act the part of a son, as if he considered, that hereafter he might be a father.

E P I S T L E XIII.

PLINY to QUADRATUS.

IN the same degree of eagerness and application, with which you read my treatises in vindication of *HELVIDIUS*, you seem to require from me every circumstance, either mentioned or not mentioned in those books; and, in short, the whole process of that affair, which happened, when you was too young to be present upon the occasion.

As soon as *DOMITIAN* was put to death, no work presented itself, in my own opinion, more noble and acceptable,

ceptable, or by which a man might gain more honour, than a prosecution of the oppressors, and a vindication of the sufferers, during that reign. Besides, among the many crimes of the numerous delinquents, none appeared to me of a blacker nature, than that a senator, in the senate, should lay hands upon a senator; a prætor, upon a man of consular dignity; a judge, upon a person accused. A great friendship had subsisted between HELVIDIUS and me; as great as I could cultivate with a person, who, in dread of those dangerous times, endeavoured, by living in obscurity and retirement, to conceal his excellent character, and no less remarkable virtues. I had always entertained a sincere affection for ARRIA and FANNIA: the latter was mother-in-law to HELVIDIUS, and the former was mother of that mother-in-law^g. But my inducements, preferable to every private consideration, were, the interest of the public, an indignation at the fact committed, and the importance of making such a precedent. It is true, that in the very beginning of the restoration of our liberties, every individual, in his own behalf, and in a most disorderly and tumultuous manner, brought his particular enemies to trial, men indeed only of the lower rank, and obtained their condemnation. I thought it more consistent with modesty and firmness of mind, not to accuse any criminal, although ever so guilty, on the general outcry against the practices of the late reign, but only on account of his own particular crimes. When the first heats were abated, and violence every day grew more languid, and fell into a more regular course of justice, although, at that time, I was under the deepest affliction, on the death of my wife, I sent to ANTEIA, who had been the wife of HELVIDIUS, desiring her to come to me, because the time of mourning confined me still to my

^g See the observations upon ep. 19, of book 7, in which is inserted the genealogy of both these families.

house.

house. As soon as she came, I said to her, " I am
 " resolved, that the death of your husband HELVI-
 " DIUS shall no longer remain unrevenge. Com-
 " municate my resolution to ARRIA and FANNIA."
 (They were returned from banishment.) " Consider
 " within yourself, and consult them, whether they are
 " willing to join in the prosecution, in which I want
 " no second: but on the other hand, I am not so ava-
 " ritious of my own glory, as to envy them a share
 " in the honour of it." ANTEIA delivered my mes-
 sage, and they immediately complied. The senate
 very seasonably sat in three days.

It was always my custom to consult CORELLIUS,
 whom I knew to be the most prudent and wise man
 of our age: yet, in this affair, I depended upon my
 own judgement, being apprehensive, that he might
 stop the progress of my design, as he was naturally
 of a most deliberate and cautious disposition. How-
 ever, I could not think of concealing my intentions
 from him, on the day when I intended to put them
 into execution; but still was resolved not to ask his
 advice; being fully convinced by experience, that
 when we are determined upon any point, we should
 not advise upon the subject, with those persons, whose
 opinion we ought implicitly to obey.

When I came into the senate, I desired liberty to
 speak, and, for a little time, was heard with the ut-
 most applause; till I began to touch upon the crime,
 and to hint at the person I intended to accuse, not as
 yet having mentioned his name. I was then opposed
 on all sides with clamour. " Let us know," says
 one man, " at whom you aim, in this extraordinary
 " manner?" " Who was ever accused," says another,
 " before his accusation had been referred to the se-
 " nate?" " Suffer us," says another, " who have
 " survived former dangers, to remain in present safe-
 " ty." I heard them without fear, or confusion.
 Confidence, and terror, are in proportion to the ho-
 nour

nour of the cause, which you defend; whether that cause is unwillingly heard, or absolutely disapproved. It would be tedious to mention every particular, that passed on all sides, at that time. At last the consul said, "When the time comes, SECUNDUS, for asking the opinion of the senators, you shall speak what you please." I replied, "You will certainly allow me an indulgence, which has not yet been denied to any body." I sat down; and other affairs were transacted.

One of my consular friends rebuked me in a private, but in a very discreet manner, as if I had taken steps too bold, and too imprudent. He desired me to recollect myself, and advised me to desist; and he added, that I might probably render myself remarkably obnoxious to future princes. I answered, "Be it so, if they are wicked princes. He was scarce gone from me, when another came and asked, "What bold attempt are you upon? Whither are you running? To what dangers are you exposing yourself? Wherefore are you confident only in the present times, without any regard to the future? You enrage a man, who is now at the head of the treasury, and is soon to be a consul; a man, who is also in high favour, and surrounded with powerful friends." He then named to me one of these friends, who, at that time, commanded a very great and powerful army in the east: whose designs were much suspected. I replied,

"All I've foreseen, and each event I've weighed^h.

"I am not unwilling, if it shall so happen, to be punished hereafter for my honesty, if I can punish, at present, others for their villainy."

^h *Omnia præcepi, atque animo mecum ante peregi. Æneid. 6. v. 105.*

At length came on the time when we were to deliver our opinions. DOMITIUS APOLLINARIS, consul elect, spoke first; after him spoke FABRITIUS VEIENTO; then FABIUS POSTHUMUS, then VECTIUS PROCULUS, the colleague of PUBLICIUS CERTUS, who was the subject of our debate: PROCULUS was father-in-lawⁱ to my late wife: after these AMMIUS FLACCUS. They all turned their arguments in favour of CERTUS, not yet named by me, as if I had already named him: they undertook the defence of a crime, which was not fixed upon any particular person. It is unnecessary to tell you what they said besides. You will find the arguments inserted in my treatise, and the exact words of the several speeches.

On the other side spoke AVIDIUS QUIETUS, and CORNUTUS TERTULLUS. QUIETUS said, “ That it
“ would be a most iniquitous proceeding, to refuse
“ to hear the complaints of the persons aggrieved;
“ and therefore, that ARRIA and FANNIA ought not
“ to be hindered from representing their grievances:
“ and that the justice of the cause, not the quality
“ of the person accused, was the point to be taken
“ into consideration.”

CORNUTUS said, “ That he had been appointed by
“ the consuls guardian to a daughter of HELVIDIUS,
“ at the request of her mother, and of her father-in-
“ law. That he could not desert the part, which his
“ duty obliged him to act in the present debate; but that
“ he would set bounds to his own grief, and, in prefer-
“ ence to it, only support the modest supplication of
“ these excellent women^k; who were content, that the
“ senate should be informed of the many base flatteries
“ practised by PUBLICIUS CERTUS, with a view to
“ put his cruelties into execution: but if the senate
“ should not think proper to inflict those punish-

ⁱ VECTIUS PROCULUS was the second husband of POMPEIA Celerina.

^k ARRIA, FANNIA, and ANTEIA.

“ ments, which the most flagitious crimes deserved,
 “ that at least some brand of infamy might be stamp-
 “ ed upon CERTUS, in the same manner, as if he
 “ had been publicly degraded by the censors¹.”

After these, SATRIUS RUFUS took the middle way between both parties, and giving an ambiguous turn to his speech, said, “ It is my opinion, that if PUB-
 “ LICUS CERTUS is not acquitted, he is much in-
 “ jured: he has been openly named by his own
 “ friends, and by the friends of ARRIA and FAN-
 “ NIA. It is certain, that we ought not to be solici-
 “ tous for his particular success^m: for we, who enter-
 “ tain a good opinion of CERTUS, shall agree in our
 “ giving judgement with those, who think ill of him.
 “ If he is innocent, as I both hope, and am willing
 “ to believe he is, I think, till some particular fact is
 “ proved against him, you may very well acquit him
 “ of these general accusations.”

To this purpose were their several speeches; and delivered in the order, as each man was cited to give his opinion. My turn came next. I arose, and began in the manner mentioned in my treatises. I answered every single person. It was amazing, with what attention, and applause, my late antagonists received every word I spoke; so great a change had taken effect in the minds of the audience, either by the importance of the affair, the force of the speech itself, or the resolution of the speaker. I made an end. VEIENTO began to answer me: he was not suffered to speak, so great a disturbance and noise was made, that he was obliged to say, “ Conscript
 “ fathers, I entreat, that I may not be obliged to
 “ implore the assistance of the tribunes.” MURENA,

¹ Nota CERTO quasi censoria inuratur. See the observations.

^m In seeming compliance, and by way of agreement to what had been advanced by QUIETUS, who had concluded his speech by saying, “ The cause, and not the person, was under the con-
 “ sideration of the senate.”

one of the tribunes, immediately replied, " I permit you, most honourable VEIENTO, to speak." The clamour arose again. During these delays, the consuls, having called over the names, and counted the voices, dismissed the senate, leaving VEIENTO standing up in his own place, and attempting to speak. VEIENTO complained much of this affront, as he called it, and repeated a verse from HOMER ;

Old man, by younger warriors thou'rt oppress'd ^a.

There was scarce a person in the senate, who did not embrace and kiss me; at the same time vying with each other in my praises, as I had revived a custom long since disused, by consulting the public good, in having undertaken the prosecution of private injuries; and in having expunged that aspersion, thrown upon the body of the senate by all other orders of men, as if the senators, by mutual agreement among themselves, had no mercy in cases where a senator himself was not interested.

These transactions passed, at a time when CERTUS was not in the senate; for he chose to be absent, either out of suspicion of such an event, or because he was sick, which was the reason offered in his excuse. The emperor never afterwards referred the cognizance of this affair ^o to the senate. However, I carried the point, which I had in view. The colleague of CERTUS obtained the consulship, and another person supplied the place of CERTUS. The event too was answerable to the latter end of my speech, in which I had said, that CERTUS should be obliged to give up, under the best of princes, those honours, which he had received under the worst.

Afterwards I collected together all my pleadings upon this occasion, and made several additions. It

^a Vide HOMER Iliad 8. v. 102.

^o *Relationem*. See the observations.

happened accidentally, although indeed it had not that appearance, that CERTUS, who had been ill some time, died within a few days after the publication of my book. I heard many affirm, that a fantom was constantly wandering in his mind, and before his eyes, which represented me approaching him continually with a drawn sword. I dare not affirm this fact as true: however, for the sake of the example, I wish it may be esteemed a truth. You have a letter, if a composition, as large as the books which you have read, may be called a letter: but you must place the trouble to your own account, since you would not be contented with the books themselves. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

A true public spirit, a sincere love of justice, and a noble fortitude of mind, are admirably blended together throughout this epistle: and from various parts of it we may form some kind of insight into the manners and customs of the Roman senate.

Primis quidem diebus redditæ libertatis pro se quisque inimicos suos, duntaxat minores, incondito turbidoque clamore postulerant simul et opprefferant: At the first restoration of liberty, [by the death of DOMITIAN, and the accession of NERVA] “every man, who pleased, fell upon his own enemies, and after having brought them by any illegal or outrageous method to trial, constantly prevailed in their condemnation. This was practised only against persons of the lower rank.” And the fact is confirmed, and fortified by DION CASSIUS, who says, that the tumultuous manner, in which all transactions were carried on in the reign of NERVA, occasioned this sharp reflexion from the consul FRONTO. Ὡς κακὸν μέγιστον αὐτοκρατορία ἔχειν. ἐφ’ ᾧ μήδεν μηδ’ ἑστῆναι ποιεῖν· χεῖρον δὲ ἐφ’ ᾧ πᾶσι πάντα. P. “The times were bad, when the emperor would permit no man to do any thing; they are worse, when every man is permitted to do whatever he pleases.”

Mitto ad ANTEIAM, nupta hæc HELVIDIO fuerat: "I sent to ANTEIA, she had been married to HELVIDIUS." ANTEIA was the daughter of PUBLIUS ANTEIUS, who, from his attachment to AGRIPPINA, fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of NERO. The particulars of his conduct are mentioned by TACITUS¹, and the manner of his death thus related. "He took poison, says that historian, but finding the operation of it too slow, he had recourse to a more speedy method of dissolution, by opening his veins." The marriage of ANTEIA with the younger HELVIDIUS, and the Offspring of that marriage, a son, and two daughters, have been already mentioned². It is evident from this epistle, that ANTEIA, after the death of HELVIDIUS, married again, and that she and her husband had solicited the consuls, to nominate CORNUTUS³, as guardian to one of her daughters. From hence we find, that guardians were appointed, upon second marriages, to the children of the first husband, probably one to each child; and that the consuls had the nomination and appointment of those guardians.

Venio in senatum, jus dicendi peto: "I came into the senate, and immediately asked leave to speak." PLINY took the earliest opportunity of asking leave to speak. Such a request seems to have been necessary, when a senator was desirous to speak out of his turn, at an irregular time, before the consul had called upon him to give his opinion in his place; which last custom was the established method of proceeding, and is distinguished afterwards in this letter, as the *tempus censendi*. PLINY was indulged in his request, and he probably began his speech in so florid, or complimentary a manner, that it was received with the utmost applause; till he attempted to describe the crime, and the person, who had committed it, in colours, that rendered the criminal notorious, even without having been named. An universal uproar arose upon the occasion⁴; and PLINY was prevented from pursuing the thread of his harangue. Conscious guilt was the source of this interruption. The senators dreaded all enquiries into their former conduct. And although PLINY remained com-

¹ Annal. lib. 16. cap. 14.

² Book 4 Ep. 21. and book 7. ep. 19.

³ *Datum se a consulibus tutorem HELVIDII filie petentibus matre ejus et vitrico.*

⁴ *Ubi capi crimen attingere, rem desinere, adbuca men sine nomine, undique mihi reclamari.*

posed and resolute, amidst their clamours and reproaches, yet he was silenced; or, to use a parliamentary expression, *was called to order* by the consul¹, who told him he should speak in his turn, when the time came, that his sentiments were to be demanded: which was so far from being a grant of favour, that PLINY's answer determines it to have been a matter of right and custom, *permiseris quod usque adhuc omnibus permisisti*: "You will not deny me the same privilege, which
" is allowed to all others."

Nota CERTO quasi censoria inuratur: CORNUTUS TERTULLUS was of opinion, that CERTUS ought to receive "some mark of infamy, in as public a manner, as if he had
" been degraded by the censors." The censorial power was very extensive. The shortest and best account of these officers is given by LIVY. *Idem hic annus censuræ initium fuit, rei à parva origine ortæ; quæ deinde tanto incremento aucta est, ut morum disciplinæque Romanæ penes eam regimen, senatus, equitumque centuriæ, decoris, dedecorisque discrimen sub ditione ejus magistratus, publicorum jus, privatorumque locorum, et vectigalia populi Romani, sub nutu atque arbitrio essent*²: "This same year [of Rome three hundred and twelve] gave
" rise to the censorship. The office in the beginning was
" inconsiderable, but the jurisdiction of it afterwards en-
" creased to such a height, that the morals and discipline of
" the Roman people were under the direction of the cen-
" sors. The senate, and the centuries of the knights, were
" entirely subjected to the power of these magistrates. They
" ascertained the distinction of honour and dishonour; and
" the privileges of public and private places. The taxes of
" the Roman people were also under their direction and au-
" thority." CERTUS must have been degraded out of the number of senators, if he had undergone the censorial jurisdiction. But PLINY lets us know, in this epistle, that the punishment, intended, was not to affect him in the senatorial capacity, but to hinder him from enjoying the consulship. The effects were answerable to the design; PLINY gained his point; and another consul was substituted in the room of CERTUS.

Hæc illi, quo quisque ordine citabantur: "These were
" their speeches, delivered in the order that they were call-

¹ *Notissime consul*: *Secunde, sententiæ loco dices, si quid volueris.*

² T. LIVY, lib. 4. cap. 8.

“ed upon.” By this expression, we find, that the consul called upon every senator in his place, and according to his station; beginning undoubtedly with those of the first rank, who had passed through the highest and most honourable employments of the state.

Venitur ad me: “It was my turn next.” PLINY was of prætorian dignity at the time of these transactions, and consequently he sat next to the *consulares*. He was appointed prætor in the thirty second year of his age, and in the thirteenth of DOMITIAN’s reign.

Mirum qua intentione, quibus clamoribus omnia exceperint, qui modo reclamabant: tanta conversio vel negotii dignitatem, vel proventum orationis, vel actoris constantiam subsequuta est: “It is wonderful, with what attention, and what applause, “they who before were loud in their complaints against me, “received my speech. So extraordinary was the turn, that “attended either the dignity of the business, which we were “transacting, or the effect of the oration, or the steadiness “of the speaker.” From this paragraph, it is evident, that the opinion given by a senator was not binding, and conclusive to him. PLINY had answered the friends ^u of CERTUS in so eloquent, and so powerful a manner, that they immediately changed their sentiments, and, from reason and conviction, became converts to the person, whom they had opposed. Such an unbiassed manner of proceeding gives us a most exalted idea of those senators, who could candidly give up their first avowed opinion, and ingenuously confess themselves in the wrong. Of all self-conquests, this is the most difficult. Examples of the kind are seldom to be produced, either among individuals, or in a public assembly. They seem to have been extraordinary, even in the senate of Rome; and therefore PLINY was loaded with congratulations, as having rescued the senators from the general reproach of acting partially, in all cases, in which any members of the senate were concerned ^v.

VEIEN TO ^x was the only person, upon whom the eloquence of our author had no effect. The motion made by PLINY,

^u *Respondeo singulis.*

^v *Quod denique senatum invidia liberâssim, qua flagrabat apud ordines alios, quod severus in ceteros, senatoribus solis, dissimulatione quasi mutua, parceret.*

^x He was one of the chief favorites of NERVA. See book 4. ep. 22.

and ratified by the senate, is not particularly mentioned. Whatever it was, VEIENTO endeavoured to oppose it; but his endeavours were to no purpose. When he found himself disappointed, and overborn by the unanimity of the senate, he had recourse to the tribunitial authority ^y, which had long lain dormant, and for many years had been looked upon rather as an office of dignity, than of power ^z. The tribune MURENA, with great quickness, assumed the authority of his station, and immediately cried out, *Most honourable VEIENTO, I give you leave to speak*. So bold a step, delivered at such a time, and in such a manner, seems to have occasioned some confusion, as PLINY adds, *tunc quoque reclamatur*: "A very great clamour immediately ensued."

Inter moras consul, citatis nominibus, et peracta discessione, mittit senatum: "The consul, during these interruptions, the difference of opinions being now terminated, called over the names, and dismissed the senate." The expression, *inter moras*, probably refers to the delays and consternation, into which the senate was thrown, by the unexpected threat of VEIENTO, and the more surprising answer of MURENA. The consul, with great sagacity, hastened to call over the names of the voters, and to dismiss the assembly ^a. At the same time, when the consul called over their names, it must necessarily have been the custom to take their numbers; otherwise, if their numbers happened to be near an equality, he could not have known on which side the majority fell. But this was not the present case, since almost the whole senate was unanimous with PLINY. The word *discessio* ^b signifies an agreement to the sentiments of another, or voting with another person in consequence of his opinion. It is properly a *departure* from any place; and in that sense it answers to the method of voting in the Roman senate;

^y *Rogo patres C. ne me cogatis implorare auxilium tribunorum.*

^z See book 1. epist. 23. and the observations on that epistle.

^a A sudden revival of the tribunitial power might have been of dangerous consequence.

^b *Discedere in sententiam, est alicujus sententiam approbare. Mos enim erat antiquorum, quum in tanto senatorum numero, longum foret singulorum sententias audire, eos tantum, qui cæteris dignitate antecellabant, sententiam rogare, deinde duabus tribusque jam dictis sententiis, reliqui ad eos, quorum judicio subscribebant, transibant.* Ambros. Calepin.

where

where, when two different opinions were maintained upon the same argument, the chief speakers divided, and went to opposite sides of the house. The followers ^c of each party quitted their own seats [*discedebant*] and went over to their leaders; in which new situation they gave their votes, by answering to their names, when called upon by the consul.

Et relationem quidem de eo CÆSAR ad senatum non remisit: “The emperor did not afterwards send any mandate to the senate, for a farther accusation against him.” The *relatio* must signify in this place a particular order from NERVA to the senate, to take a farther cognizance of the crimes alledged against P. CERTUS, who was already accused, or rather censured publicly in such a manner, as might have drawn on a formal accusation, if the emperor had sent a mandate [*relationem*] for that purpose. In this instance may be seen the miserable state of slavery, to which the senate was reduced; when the senators were restrained from passing judgement in any cause, that had not been referred to them by the emperor himself: and from thence arose the question, which was put to PLINY, when he first began to touch upon the enormities of CERTUS, one of whose friends immediately exclaimed, *Quis est ante relationem reus?* “Who is ever accused, until the emperor has referred his accusation to the senate?” The only advantageous difference accruing to the senate, in the alternate reigns of good, or of bad princes, seems to have been in this particular; that, during the dominion of the former, the senators were permitted to speak their sentiments freely upon those points, which were referred to their cognizance and consideration; but during the tyranny of the latter, they were utterly prohibited from all freedom of speech, and every shadow of liberty; being, as described by PLINY, *curia trepida, et elinguis* ^d: “A timid and speechless assembly.”

^c These tacit voters were called *pedarii*. *Quia ire in senatum pedibus dicebantur.*

^d Vide epist. 14. lib. 8.

EPISTLE XIV.

PLINY to CORNELIUS TACITUS.

ALthough you do not care to hear your own praises, yet I never employ my pen with more sincerity, than when I am commending you. Whether we shall be taken notice of, in future ages, I cannot determine: but undoubtedly our mutual studies and labours, and the respect, which we pay to posterity, (for I will not be so vain as to mention our wit) ought to entitle us to a certain degree of reputation. Let us proceed however, in the same manner, that we have begun; which, although it has advanced but few persons to any height of fame and splendour, yet it has drawn many out of darkness, and preserved them from oblivion. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

Eleven epistles are extant from PLINY to TACITUS, of which this is the last. Throughout the whole series of these letters, even when they are upon the most trifling subjects, the strict union subsisting between the two authors is so very evident, that they might be proverbial instances of friendship. The *amicitia Pyladea* has been more celebrated, but could not be more sincere. They wrote in conjunction with each other; but the several pieces * are neither ascertained, nor have reached our times.

* By the last paragraph in the original epistle [*Quod ut paucos in lucem, &c.*] we may presume they were biographical.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XV.

PLINY to POMPEIUS FALCO.

I Took refuge in *Tuscany*, in hopes to pass some time there, to my own satisfaction : but even my *Tuscan* territories afford no such indulgence. For I am perpetually disturbed by a number of papers and complaints brought to me, by my farmers. I read these memorials even with more reluctance, than I read my own works, which, at present, are not very agreeable to me ; for I am employed in revising certain small treatises, that, by length of time, are become insipid and disagreeable.

My accounts are as entirely neglected, as when I am absent. However, I now and then get on horseback, and seem to act the part of a careful husbandman, by riding through my fields ; but I ride through them hastily, and only for exercise. Continue to me your old custom of returning, in exchange for my rural news, an account of transactions at *Rome*. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

By the whole turn of this epistle, and indeed of several others of the same kind, we find in it, that neglect, and inattention to money, which, although laudable in comparison of avarice, often carries with it pernicious, if not destructive consequences. No man whatever can, with the least security, withdraw himself from the cares and assiduity of his private fortune : and although PLINY seems to think, that by riding, or rather galloping through his fields, he maintains the specious aspect of an industrious landlord, and skilful husbandman, he is certainly mistaken in the supposition. His farmers and dependants were as capable to discover his defects and ignorance, in their sphere of learning, as he could discover their want of knowledge in his own tracts of literature. There is a certain wisdom and cunning

ning in that lower class of people, that can outreach the deepest philosophers, and the compleatest scholars in the world: the most awkward hind is not to be deceived by outward appearances and affectations. Their eyes are the eyes of nature; and they see distinctly all the objects, that tend either to their preservation or destruction. Self-interest is their instinct; and, like other instincts in the brute creation, it often guides them with a steadier hand, than reason. When they meet with a landlord of PLINY's disposition, they fail not to torment him with memorials, and petitions; a sure method to gain from a studious, or a generous man, those points, which could not be obtained by a less teizing stratagem.

EPISTLE XVI.

PLINY to MAMILIANUS.

I AM not in the least surprized, when your hunting afforded you such vast plenty of game, that you should be infinitely pleased with the sport; especially, as you tell me, in the historical style, that the slain were innumerable. I have neither leisure, nor inclination for hunting; no leisure, because my vintage is upon my hands; no inclination, because the vintage is small. I shall send you therefore new verses, instead of new wine: and as you ask for them in the most genteel manner possible, they shall be sent to you, as soon as their fermentation is over. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

Historicorum more scribas numerum iniri non potuisse: "Like our historians, you say, that the number of slain is beyond computation." This expression seems to hint, that the historical accounts relating to the numbers, of which the antient armies are said to consist, were looked upon, even in PLINY's days, as exaggerated and fabulous. They appear to us, indeed, incredible, especially, if we observe, that the several historians seldom agree among themselves, in the exact number. The army of XERXES is, I believe, generally

nerally allowed to have been the greatest collection of land and sea forces, that were ever brought together. CORNELIUS NEPOS makes the land army to consist of above a million. The sea forces, he tells us, were twelve hundred men of war, and two thousand other vessels^f. JUSTIN fixes it exactly to a million; seven hundred thousand of the king's subjects, and three hundred thousand auxiliaries^g. HERODOTUS differs again from both these authors. He says, the land forces amounted to seventeen hundred thousand men; and the ships were twelve hundred and seven^h. The military force of DARIUS, next to that of XERXES, is the most numerous army upon record. But, if we look into the accounts of it by Q. CURTIUSⁱ, JUSTIN^k, PLUTARCH^l, and ARRIAN^m, we shall find them all different. What credit then can be given to antient history? Certainly, if we consider these various representations of the same fact, we must agree with PLINY, in his observation upon MAMILIANUS, who, when he affirmed, that the game taken by him was numberless, only talked in the style of an antient historian.

^f Cornel. Nep. Themistocles, cap. 2.

^g Lib. 2. cap. 10.

^h Herodot. lib. 7.

ⁱ Lib. 3 cap. 4.

^k Lib. 11. cap. 9.

^l *De vita* ALEXANDRI.

^m *De expedit.* ALEXAN. lib. 2.

ARRIAN was a later writer than PLINY: he lived in the reign of ADRIAN.

EPISTLE XVII.

PLINY to JULIUS GENITOR.

I Have received your letter, in which you say, that a most elegant supper was disagreeable to you, because buffoons, lascivious dancers, and jesters were playing their tricks around the table. Will you never remit a grain of your severity? It is true, I have none of these diversions: but I bear them in those persons, to whom they are acceptable. Why then should not I have them myself? Because the softness of the lascivious dancer, the insolence of the buffoon, and the folly of the jester, afford me neither novelty,

novelty, nor pleasure. In this particular, I am not giving you an account of my judgement, but of my disposition. And therefore you may be certain, that the entertainments, by which you and I are captivated and amused, must appear to several of our acquaintance, neither wisely, nor well chosen. It is observable, that many people, as soon as a reader, a musician, or a player ^a is introduced, immediately call for their shoes^o: Or, if they continue at table, stay there in as uneasy a situation, as you express at the sight (to use your own appellation) of these monsters. Let us, therefore, grant indulgence to the pleasures of others, that we may obtain from them the same indulgence. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

In former ages, and even in the last century, the king had his jester, and every great man had his fool. These personages are introduced by BEN JOHNSON, as the domestic delight of VOLPONE, who, in an ecstasy of joy, cries out,

Call forth my dwarf, my eunuch, and my fool,
And let 'em make me sport. What should I do,
But cocker up my *genius*, and live free
To all delights my fortune calls me to?

The fool, and dwarf, are out of fashion; but the charms of the eunuch still prevail. His voice, like the voice of AMPHION, draws together a numerous audience, the great-

^a PLINY, in the fifteenth epistle of the first book, describing an entertainment, which he had prepared for his friends at his own house, and from which SEPTITIUS CLARUS had been absent, mentions these particular performers, as introduced by his own directions, to exhilarate the diversions of the night: *Audisset comædos, vel lectorem, vel lyristen, &c.* And they are mentioned again by him in the thirty sixth epistle of this book.

• When the Romans laid down to table, they pulled off their shoes: *Discubiture ponebant calceos, ne lectos tricliniæ conspurcarent*: says one of the commentators.

est

est part of whom would possibly be compared, by GENITOR, in the severity of his disposition, to the stocks and stones of *Thebes*, attracted by the enchanting power of the songster, without understanding one syllable of the song.

The indelicate and vitiated entertainments of the Romans are of a nature to be passed over, if possible, in eternal silence.

EPISTLE XVIII.

PLINY to SABINUS.

YOUR letter convinces me, with what a degree of application, study, and strength of memory, you have read my book. All trouble, therefore, will be owing to yourself, since you entice and invite me to communicate to you, as many of my works as possible. I shall obey: but I will send them in parcels, and in some manner digested; lest by too large, or too laborious a portion, I should fatigue your memory, to which I am so deeply indebted: nor would I willingly overburden you in such a manner, as to oblige you to leave particular parts for the whole, and to quit abruptly the beginning, in a hasty pursuit of what is to follow. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

The subject of this short letter is much the same with the second epistle of this book. SABINUS had joined the learned and military sciences in his own breast; a frequent and a noble character among the Romans^p. The officers of our own nation are taken away from the pursuit of their studies, in so early a part of their lives, that they seldom appear such perfect masters of literature, as of arms: but, if they are not the most learned, they are certainly the politest set of men in the nation. Courage seems to supply the deficiency of learning, and from the source of its own virtue,

^p See the observations upon the sixteenth epistle of the first book.

to give a natural and noble fund of humanity, which, perhaps, is more than equal to the greatest acquisitions, that can be obtained from books.

EPISTLE XIX.

PLINY to CREMUTIUS RUSO¹.

YOU inform me, that you have read, in one of my letters², an inscription, which VERGINIUS RUFUS commanded to be placed upon his tomb.

RUFUS, who VINDEK overcame,
Lies buried in this tomb:
To empire, he preferr'd his fame,
To his own merits, *Rome*.

You censure him for such a command; and you add, FRONTINUS acted in a better, and more unbiassed manner, by forbidding any monument whatsoever to be erected to himself. In the latter part of your letter you require my opinion upon these two different commands. I bore a true affection to both the men. I admired most the person, whom you censure; and I admired him so much, that I thought he never could be sufficiently praised. Yet, I now find myself under a necessity of defending him. I look upon all those, who have done some noble and memorable action, as not only to be pardoned, but to be praised in their pursuit of that immortal character, which they have deserved; and in their particular desire of perpetuating, by monumental inscriptions, the acknowledged glory of their names. Nor can I believe, that it will be easy to find a person, who, after having acted in a manner equally great with VERGINIUS, would be equally modest in speaking of his

¹ See book 6. ep. 23.

² Book 6. ep. 10.

own merit. I am a witness of what I have now advanced. I enjoyed his good opinion and affection; I was admitted to his familiarity; and I never heard him, except once, mention his own actions. It was in answer to CLUVIUS, who, in a discourse with him, said, "You must be sensible, VERGINIUS, of the strict fidelity, which an historian ought to observe: I must entreat your pardon therefore, if in my history you find some circumstances not perfectly agreeable to you." To which he replied, "I hope, CLUVIUS, you cannot be ignorant, that whatever I have done was with a view, that historians might be at perfect liberty to write in the manner, which they thought proper." And now let us compare the same FRONTINUS, in this particular point, where you think him more modest and restrained, than RUFUS. He ordered, that no monument should be erected to him: but, what terms did he make use of, in writing those orders? *The expences of a monument are needless. If I have deserved fame, my memory can never perish.* Are you of opinion, that it is more modest, to let the whole universe read [in his works] that a man's memory is to last for ever, than to signalize a particular action by a couple of verses, upon a particular tomb-stone? However, I did not propose to censure FRONTINUS, but to defend RUFUS: and how can I devise a better defence for him, than by comparing him with the person, whom you prefer? According to my judgement, neither of them are to be blamed. Each was equally desirous of glory; each pursued it in a different manner: the one, by requiring the honours, which were due to him; the other, by seeming to despise them. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The monument of VERGINIUS RUFUS is described in the tenth epistle of the sixth book. His character, his death, and his public funeral, are the entire subject of PLINY's first epistle in the second book. In the observations upon that letter, some part of his story is cursorily hinted at: here it may be more fully related.

L. VERGINIUS RUFUS was governor of the upper Germany, at the time when GALBA^f had followed the example of JULIUS VINDE^g, and had raised considerable forces, in opposition to the outrages of NERO. The forces of GALBA were Spaniards; those of VINDE were Gauls: the people of both these provinces had been so cruelly harassed, and so exorbitantly taxed, that they revolted with the utmost alacrity against their emperor. In the mean time, VERGINIUS RUFUS had under his command the most experienced and the best disciplined legions in the whole Roman empire. He was known to be a man, who bore an entire abhorrence to the intolerable tyrannies, that had been successfully practised by NERO. All eyes therefore were turned upon the conduct of VERGINIUS, which, at first, seemed very doubtful and reserved. He refused to declare himself for GALBA, and he marched in opposition to VINDE. The two armies, when they came in reach of each other, forced their generals to suffer them to engage^h. VINDE was entirely overcome, and, upon his defeat, put an end to his own life. The troops of VERGINIUS immediately saluted him as emperor, and offered to carry him triumphantly to Rome. He was descended of an equestrian family, and his virtues and accomplishments were such, as had been long established and admired. He had all the pretensions to empire, that either family, or merit could assemble. Notwithstanding these circumstances, he rejected the offer with most exemplary firmness, declaring at the same time, "That he not only abso-
lutely refused the empire himself, but would not suffer
any other person to assume the imperial power, who was
not elected to it by the senate." A glorious resolution,

^f GALBA was at this time governor of *Gallia Tarraconensis*.

^g VINDE was governor of *Celtic Gaul*.

^h PLUTARCH compares the two generals to two charioteers, who have no longer the reins at command.

and such as deserved to be recorded to the latest generations. As soon as letters arrived from Rome, containing the decree of the senate in favour of GALBA, he joined in the general acknowledgment of the choice. But GALBA still retained a suspicion of VERGINIUS. He was conscious of his military influence, and therefore appointed FLACCUS HORDEONIUS immediately to succeed him. RUFUS received his successor with the greatest respect; and cheerfully resigning the command of the army to him, hastened to meet and attend the new emperor to Rome. GALBA, on the arrival of RUFUS, looked upon him with a distant eye; or, as PLUTARCH expresses it, neither shewed him the least mark of gratitude, nor exerted the least resentment against him; and in the succeeding troubles, he lived in perpetual danger. The soldiers still continued to offer him the empire, and he still continued to refuse the offer. His denial of their request drew upon him their resentment; and he so entirely lost their affection, that in the reign of VITELLIUS, he was with difficulty preserved from being torn to pieces by the men, who had so often chosen him as their emperor. His first refusal was undoubtedly noble. But when the distraction of the times seemed to require his assistance, and to admit of no excuse, his refusal, at such a juncture, was rather obstinacy than fortitude. His last and calmer scenes of life are already painted by PLINY, in the most attractive colours ^w.

SEXTUS JULIUS FRONTINUS, whom PLINY succeeded in the augurate ^x, and who is mentioned elsewhere in these epistles ^y, was a learned civilian; a great general, and the author of several treatises upon various subjects. His four books, entitled *στρατηγηματικά*, contain maxims and examples of stratagems and conduct in the management of an army. The work, although written compendiously, shews him a perfect master in the military art; and many of the stories are remarkable and entertaining: scarce any of his other writings are arrived to us. He commanded in Britain with great reputation and success; and was succeeded in that command by the famous AGRICOLA.

TACITUS speaks of FRONTINUS with great honour, and says, (*Vir magnus quantum licebat*) “he was as great a man, “as the times he lived in permitted him to be.” ^z

^w Book 2. ep. 1.

^x Book 4. ep. 8.

^y Book 5. ep. 1.

^z Vit. AGRICOL. cap. 17.

MARCUS CLAUDIUS RUFUS, the historian^a, was so happy in his character, that although he was one of NERO's chief favourites, and acquired much wealth from that situation, yet he was never known to injure any man, or to perpetrate any act of injustice, or malevolence. This disposition is evident from his excuse to VERGINIUS RUFUS, whom he fears to have mentioned in his history, in a manner that might offend him, *si quid in historiis meis legis aliter ac velis, rogo, ignoscas*: "If some circumstances or facts, not very agreeable to you, occur in your perusal of my history, I shall hope for your excuse." There is a delicacy in the compliment, that discovers the person, who made it, extremely fearful of giving offence. The answer of RUFUS is noble, "You may be certain, my conduct was with a view, that authors might have the liberty of writing in the manner they pleased:" Alluding to the maxim, which he had established, of suffering no emperor to reign, who was not chosen by the senate, and consequently would govern according to the laws and liberties of Rome. The maxim in itself was excellent, and could be injurious only by the corruption of the Roman Senate; whose servility and adulation might at any time change the most virtuous prince into a tyrant. VERGINIUS RUFUS and JULIUS FRONTINUS appear to have been two Romans, who deserve monuments as lasting as the world itself.

^a TACITUS quotes some part of his history, in the fourteenth book of his annals, cap. 2.

E P I S T L E XX.

P L I N Y to V E N A T O R.

YOUR letter was rendered more agreeable by the length of it, especially when my works were the whole subject of it. I am not surprized, that they should please you, when your affection extends to no less than my writings, to myself.

I am at present employed in gathering my vintage; which, although small, is more plentiful than I expected. But, may I venture to say, I am employed in my vintage?

vintage? when I only now and then gather a grape, visit my wine-press, taste my new wine out of the vessels¹, interrupt my domestics, whom I brought from *Rome* to preside over my rural affairs, and who now abandon me entirely to my secretaries and readers. Adieu.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

This is a letter so entirely personal, domestic, and trivial, that not any reflexions or entertainment can be deduced from it. The beginning of it is vain; and the latter part of it is obscure. The person, to whom it is written, is unknown. No other epistle is addressed to him.

¹ *Gustare de lacu mustum.* To use the technical terms of this expression, we should say, taste the *must* in the vat.

E P I S T L E XXI.

P L I N Y to S A B I N I A N U S.

YOUR freedman, against whom you expressed so much anger, came to me, and throwing himself at my feet, remained there, as if you had been in my place. He wept abundantly; he was exceeding earnest in asking forgiveness; his very silence was moving: in a word, he convinced me of his repentance. And indeed, since he is sensible of his fault, I believe, that he will correct it. I know you are very angry; and I also know, you have reason to be very angry. But indulgence is never more laudable, than when the motives of indignation are greatest. You have formerly entertained a particular regard for the man, and I hope you will renew it: in the mean time, let me entreat you to pardon him. You can again be angry with him, if he deserves it; and your resentment will be more justifiable, from your remission. Make some allowances to his youth, his tears, and

your own good nature. Neither suffer him, nor yourself, to be any longer miserable. For to your mild disposition, the passion of anger must be a state of misery. I am apprehensive, that if I offer his petition, as my own request, I may seem rather to obtain it by compulsion, than entreaty: nevertheless it is a part, which I cannot refuse to act: and I am more strongly supported in such an application, by the strictness and severity, with which I reprimanded him, and by the assurances, which I gave him, of never interposing again in his favour. These threats were necessary to frighten him: to you I need make no such resolutions; for I may again, perhaps, repeat my present request; and perhaps, may again obtain it, if the nature of his offence be such, as may become me to intercede, and you to grant his pardon. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

From a sentence in this epistle, *torqueris enim, quum tam lenis irasceris*, SABINIANUS was probably of that kind of character, which, if not very frequent, would be very astonishing: *A good natured man, but passionate* ^c. The mildness, which is supposed to be inherent to good nature, seems absolutely incompatible with anger: And undoubtedly, as PLINY observes, such different passions must occasion great uneasiness in the breast where they reside.

In the beginning of this letter, PLINY tells his friend, *irasceris scio, et irasceris merito, id quoque scio*: "I know you are angry; and I know, you have just cause for your anger." This paragraph, in some measure, accounts for the heat of passion, to which good natured men are sometimes liable. Their disposition prompts them to the most unlimited acts of benevolence and humanity; and they frequently meet with the most ungrateful and disingenuous

^c TULLY, in a letter to ATTICUS, has this expression, *Nam, si ita statueris, et irritabiles animos esse optimorum sæpe hominum, et eosdem placabiles; et esse hanc agilitatem, ut ita dicam, mollitiamque naturæ plerumque bonitatis*. Lib. 1. ep. 17.

returns. The warmest emotions are often the consequence of such disappointments: which possibly might be the case of SABINIANUS, whose nature was exceeding generous and noble, since in the twenty fourth epistle of this book we shall find, that he immediately listened to the entreaties of PLINY, and again received his own servant into favour.

E P I S T E XXII.

PLINY to CATILIUS SEVERUS.

THE illness of PASSIENUS PAULUS has afflicted me to the greatest degree: and indeed, I had many very just reasons for my uneasiness. He is a man of the best disposition, and the greatest virtue; and he is one of my most affectionate friends. Besides, he not only rivals, but explains and restores the antient authors. PROPERTIUS is his chief favourite: he is descended from him; truly descended. In their brightest features their likeness is most exact. When you peruse his elegies, you will perceive a justness, a softness, and a gaiety peculiar to the family of PROPERTIUS.

PAULUS lately applied himself to lyric poetry; in which, you will be of opinion, that he has imitated HORACE with the same nicety, that he imitated PROPERTIUS: so that if a similitude of genius is a proof of affinity, he is as nearly related to the former, as he is to the latter. His variety is pleasing, his transitions are beautiful: he appears the most tender lover, and the most passionate mourner: his applause is affectionate; his humour engaging: in short, he is as perfect in every kind of writing, as if the whole were one particular branch.

The illness of so worthy and so accomplished a friend, could not give to him more corporeal pain, than it has occasioned mental anxiety to me: but at length we are both recovered. Congratulate me, congratulate even learning itself, to which his sick-

PLINY'S EPISTLES.

ness threatned as much danger, as his recovery promises glory. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

An unlucky, but a merry incident, that happened to PAssIENUS PAULUS, is related in the fifteenth epistle of the sixth book. According to PLINY's account of him, he was equal to the poets of the Augustan age. But as PLINY was observed to entertain too high an opinion of his friends, it is not improbable, that PAULUS was one of the instances, which might occasion such a reflexion.

SEXTUS AURELIUS PROPERTIUS, the countryman and relation of PAULUS, was born at *Mevania*, now *Bevagna*, in *Umbria*, the present dutchy of *Spoletto*. He was called the Roman CALLIMACHUS; and flourished near the same time with OVID, GALLUS and TIBULLUS^d. His compositions are amorous and elegant. LIPSIVS goes so far in his praise, as to say, PROPERTIUM *qui non amat, eum profecto musæ non amant*: "He who loves not PROPERTIUS, " cannot be beloved by the muses."

^d OVID, in a description of his own birth and family, and of his early and immoveable inclinations to the muses, has four lines, that settle the chronology of these poets.

VIRGILIUM *vidi tantum; nec avara* TIBULLO
Tempus amicitiae fata dedere meæ:
Successor fuit hic tibi, GALLE; PROPERTIUS illi
Quartus ab his serie temporis ipse fui.

EPISTLE XXIII.

PLINY to MAXIMUS.

DURING the time of my pleading, I have often known the *centumviri*, after having long preserved their proper gravity and authority, rise up at once, as if urged by irresistible impulse, to applaud me. I have also frequently received as great a share of fame from the senate, as I could possibly hope for.

for. But I have never been more elated with joy, than lately, from an account given me by CORNELIUS TACITUS. He told me, that he was seated next to a certain person*, at the last Circensian games, who, after having asked him many questions concerning literature, enquired, if he were an Italian, or a provincial? TACITUS answered, "You must certainly know me from your knowledge in books." The other immediately replied, "Am I then speaking to TACITUS, or PLINY?" My satisfaction is inexpressible, when I observe, that our names are recorded, as the titles of literature itself, and not of men; and that our writings make us known to persons, who would otherwise be entirely unacquainted with us. Another incident of the same kind happened to me within these few days. I was at table with that eminent man FABIVS RUFINUS. One of his countrymen was placed next him, who, before that day, had never been in Rome. RUFINUS shewed me to his friend, and mentioned me as a man of learning. Upon which the other said, "He must be PLINY." I confess therefore, I think my studious labours well rewarded. If DEMOSTHENES had reason to be pleased, when the Athenian old woman pointed at him, and said, "This is DEMOSTHENES:" is not the pleasure, which I receive in the celebration of my own name, equally just? I am indeed overjoyed, and I declare it. Nor am I apprehensive of appearing vain, since I assert not my own opinion, but the opinion of others; and since it is to you, that I represent it, who envy the character of no man, and who are constantly favourable to mine. Farewell.

* See the observations.

OBSERVATION.

This epistle puts us in mind of a noted line in PERSIUS;

At pulchrum est digito monstrari, et dicier hic est ^f.

“ Oh but 'tis brave to be admired, to see

“ The crowd, with pointing fingers, cry, THAT'S HE ^g.”

Although PLINY endeavours to excuse the ostentation and self-praise, that display themselves throughout this epistle; and although the excuses are as plausible, as the error will admit; yet, whenever we meet with letters of this kind, in which he speaks of himself as an author, a former observation will certainly recur, that in treating upon the topic of his own learning and reputation, he gives too great a scope to his vanity, and assumes to himself a golden crown, which he ought to expect from more proper, and less partial judges.

The editors are divided in their adherence to a particular paragraph of this epistle. CORTEZ and LONGOLIUS read it thus, *Narrabat sedisse se cum quodam Circensibus proximis*, &c. “ TACITUS told me, that at the last Circensian games, he “ sat next to a certain person, who, after many questions “ concerning literature, asked him, if he were of Rome, or “ of the provinces?” CELLARIUS, MATTAIRE, and the *editio variorum*, print the sentence in a different manner. *Narrabat sedisse secum Circensibus proximis equitem Romanum*: “ TACITUS told me, that at the last Circensian games, “ he sat next to a ROMAN KNIGHT, who, after many “ questions, &c.” TACITUS, as a senator, might indeed have seated himself, if in an undress, *in veste privata* ^h, among the Roman knights; but the former reading, *cum quodam*, reconciles all difficulties, and is besides more agreeable to the style and manner of PLINY.

^f Satyr. 1. v. 28.
CLAUDIUS.

^g DRYDEN.

^h Vide Dion. lib. 60.

E P I S T L E XXIV.

P L I N Y *to* S A B I N I A N U S .

YOU are extremely kind, upon the recommendation of my letter, to have received your freedman again, who once was esteemed by you, into your house, and into favour. Such a condescension will be as satisfactory to yourself, as it has been to me; first, because I see your temper so tractable, that you can conquer your passion; then again, because I find myself of so much authority with you, that you are either obedient to my influence, or indulgent to my solicitations. Let me at once therefore applaud and thank you; and, at the same time, let me advise you for the future, to be more favourable to your domestics, although they should not find an intercessor. Farewell.

O B S E R V A T I O N S .

These few lines contain the truest sentiments of friendship and benevolence: Friendship towards SABINIANUS; benevolence towards his freedman. The admonition, at the latter end, is so far remarkable, as it seems to confirm the suspicion arising from the twenty first epistle, that SABINIANUS was subject to passion, and to be easily provoked at his servants. “For the future, says PLINY, let me advise you to “forgive the errors of your domestics, even without any intercession.” This advice must have been unnecessary to a man, whose calmness of temper was not subject to be ruffled by sudden storms, arising within his own breast. But from whatever cause the advice may have arisen, the practice of it will certainly prove beneficial in private life. The master of a family, who preserves a firmness of mind, impenetrable to all gusts of peevishness and passion, will find in himself a perpetual fund of cheerfulness and satisfaction; and will appear among his domestics, like one of those demi-gods called *Indigetes*, who, amidst the happiness of their own celestial state, became constant protectors of particular people, by whom they were worshipped with true adoration.

E P I S T L E

EPISTLE XXV.

PLINY to MAMILIANUS.

YOU make great complaints of the hurry of the camp, and yet, as if you were totally disengaged from business, you read and admire my trifling and ludicrous verses; and even importune and incite me to go on in performances of that kind. I now begin not only to take delight, but even to assume glory in these compositions, which have received the approbation of so judicious, so learned, and above all so sincere a man. At present my time is taken up, not entirely, but in a good measure, by certain causes, which, when finished, may again allow me to submit to your kindest thoughts some poetical pieces of the same sort. You will suffer my doves and sparrows to fly among your eagles, if your opinion of them should equal the confidence, which they entertain of themselves: if not, confine them to a nest, or within a cage. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

MAMILIANUS, from the seventeenth epistle of this book, appears to have been a constant admirer of PLINY'S poetry. In return for so soothing an instance of friendship, our author bestows upon him the highest praises, and honours him with the superlative titles, *virigravissimi*, *eruditissimi*, *et super ista verissimi*. The compliments were probably exaggerated on both sides.

EPISTLE XXVI.

PLINY to LUPERCUS.

IN my opinion, I judged right of a certain orator of our own times, who is just and exact, but not elevated

elevated and graceful, when I declared, that *he has but one error; he never errs*. For an orator ought to be elevated, transported, and even sometimes heated: he ought to be carried beyond bounds, and frequently to tread upon the brink of a precipice; because precipices are often near high and exalted places. The road indeed is safer upon the plain, but it is lower and meaner. Again, those, who run, oftner fall, than those, who move softly: if the latter never fall, no praise attends them; but the former are praised in a certain degree, even although they fall. Eloquence, like some other arts, recommends itself, in proportion to the danger, that it undergoes: for the rope-dancers, you may observe, receive the greatest acclamations, when they appear in the utmost peril of falling. Those events are most wonderful, which are least expected, and most dangerous, or, according to the stronger expression in Greek, are [παράβολαⁱ] the boldest adventures. The skill of the pilot is never so remarkable in a calm, as in a tempest: during the former, he sails ingloriously into port, unheeded, and without applause. But when the ropes rattle, the mast bends, the rudder cracks, then the pilot appears in all his glory, like one of the gods of the sea.

I mention these things, because you seemed to have made remarks upon some part of my writings, as too lofty, rash, and luxuriant, all which I imagined sublime, bold, and full. The difference is essential, whether you censure those parts, which are the objects of surprize, or those, which excite just criticism. Whatever is eminent and distinguished, will be universally observed; but to perceive the distinction between true and false grandeur, between a proper and an unproportioned height, requires a particular nicety of judgment. And I shall now just touch upon HOMER.

ⁱ Thus παράβολοι, surnamed the *Parabolani* [*id est, viri audaces, ad audendum projecti*] were properly those, who fought with wild beasts upon the stage.

He

He is the author, who can, with greatest propriety,
fly from one extreme of style to another.

Heaven in loud thunder bids the trumpet sound.
And wide beneath them groans the rending ground^{*}.

And again,

His lance was hid in clouds[†].

And this most complete example ;

As torrents roll, increas'd by num'rous rills,
With rage impetuous down their ecchoing hills ;
Rush'd to the vales, and pour'd along the plain,
Roar through a thousand channels to the main[‡].

But the nicest scale is necessary to weigh these passages, and try whether they are incredible and outrageous, or magnificent and inspired. Nor can I presume, that I have reached this kind of style, or, that I shall ever reach it. I am not so infatuated, but I would willingly have my opinion understood. I think the reins of eloquence ought to be let loose ; nor should the force of genius find itself restrained within too narrow a circuit.

It may be said, that the laws of eloquence and poetry differ ; as if TULLY must be less bold than HOMER. However, I omit TULLY. In relation to him, I think no dispute can possibly arise. But DEMOSTHENES, the pattern and model of all orators, has he curbed and restrained himself in that noted passage ? *These wicked men, these flatterers, and these destroyers of mankind*ⁿ.

^{*} Pope. Iliad. B. 21. v. 452.

[†] From Homer Iliad. E. v. 356.

[‡] Pope Iliad. B. 4. v. 516.

ⁿ In reference to the betrayers of their country, many of whom are named by DEMOSTHENES,, and compared to ÆSCHINES.

***** And again, *For I have not fortified the city with walls of stone or brick.* ***** And presently after, *With the bulwarks, which I have provided for the defence of Attica, as far as it was in the power of human prudence.* ***** And in another place, *As for my part, O Athenians, I vow by the gods, that I think him intoxicated with his past success^o.* But what can be bolder than that very fine and very long excursion? *A terrible disease^p,* ***** Or what can exceed these expressions? shorter indeed, but equally bold. *I resisted the rapidity of PYTHON's eloquence, which was poured forth like a torrent against you^q.* ***** And again, in the same style, *When a man, like PHILIP, has climbed by avarice and villainy to the height of power, the first false step will overthrow and destroy him^r.* ***** A similar passage is, excluded from all privileges of a citizen, by the judgement of the three tribunals. ***** In the same manner, *But you, O Aristogiton, have suppressed, or rather entirely thrown aside that compassion, which is due to crimes of this nature. You must not therefore expect a safe retreat in harbours, which you have blocked up, and encompassed with rocks.* ***** And he had said before, *For I am afraid, that some people imagine, you take care to encourage the evil dispositions of such citizens, as appear to be vitiously inclined; for wickedness, by itself, is naturally weak.* ***** And afterwards, *Here appears to me no refuge for him; on all sides are precipices, gulphs, and abysses.* ***** And farther, *For I cannot suppose our an-*

^o This paragraph alludes to PHILIP of Macedon, and is extracted from the first Philippic.

^p These are only the two first words of a sentence, which PLINY supposes to be perfectly well known to LUPERCUS.

^q This sentence is taken from the oration of DEMOSTHENES, in defence of CTESIPHO. PYTHON was one of the greatest orators of his time.

^r This quotation is from the second Olynthian; in which oration DEMOSTHENES endeavours to encourage the people of Athens, to assist the Olynthians, by representing to them the declining condition of the Macedonian power.

*cestors to have established these tribunals, that you should make them a nursery for such men to flourish in; but on the contrary, that you should extirpate and punish them, to hinder others from imitating their evil actions. * * * **

He proceeds, *If he carries on a trade in pursuing his wickedness, and makes it the merchandize in which he trafficks. * * * * ** And a thousand such instances omitting the examples, which ÆSCHINES defines not as words, but wonders.

I have fallen upon the other extreme; to which you will answer, that DEMOSTHENES is blamed by ÆSCHINES in that particular point. But observe, how much less excellent the critic appears, than the person, whom he censures; and even in those instances, which are criticised. Energy is visible in other parts of his writings; in these, majesty is particularly splendid. For has ÆSCHINES kept himself entirely free from those errors, which he disapproves in DEMOSTHENES? For example, *An author is indispensably bound, O Athenians, to speak the same language with the laws of his country: but when the voice of the law differs from the orator, you ought to be determined in your judgement by the equity of the laws, not the presumption of the orator*¹. * * * *

In another place, *He then discovers his intention in every part of the decree, by privately inserting directions, that the ambassadors should desire the ORETANS not to pay the five talents to us, but to CALLIAS.* To prove the truth of which, divest the decree of its pomp, of promised fleets, and the other ostentatious expressions; then read it. * * * Again in another, *But permit him not to lead you into digressions, foreign to the purpose.* * * * He is so perfectly fond of this thought, that he repeats it again. *But sitting down with resolution in the assembly, compel him to come to the point at once, and observe the artful turns and evasions of his discourse.* * * * Is the following paragraph more reserved and humble? *But you wound us with your daily discourses; for the success*

¹ From the oration of ÆSCHINES against CTESIPHON.

*of which you are more solicitous, than for the safety of your city. * * * * Are these expressions more elated? Will you not banish this man as the bane of Greece? Will you not seize and punish this public pirate, who sails through your commonwealth, and ravages your country? * * * * And so in other instances.*

I expect, that certain parts of this epistle, such as, *the rudder cracks, and the pilot appears like a sea-god,* will be as much censured by you, as the passages, which occasioned this letter. For I am sensible, that while I have been framing excuses for my former errors, I have again committed the same faults. But condemn them as you please, so that you will appoint a day, when we may meet to sit in judgement upon the several instances. For, either you will make me more fearful, or I shall make you more couragious. Adieu.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

Our art of eloquence is very different from that science, as practised among the Romans in the days of PLINY. Letters of this kind therefore cannot appear in any degree of splendour. The rules of oratory, which guided and instructed the antients, are of small efficacy among the moderns; and therefore, the common observation is certainly true, that if CICERO himself were to argue in the British senate, and was at present as great a master of the English, as he was formerly of the Latin language, unless he changed his style, and adapted his rhetoric to the manners of the place, he would scarce meet with much approbation or applause. It is of little consequence now to consider, whether the antient, or the modern eloquence, is preferable. Some general maxims may be suitable to both. And all such will be found in CICERO, who was the theorist, and practiser of his own art.

Visus es mihi in scriptis meis annotasse quædam, ut tumida, quæ ego sublimia; ut improba, quæ ego audentia; ut nimia, quæ ego plena arbitrabar: “ You seem to have observed, in
 “ my writings, some particular parts, as too swelling, which
 “ I imagined were sublime; others, as too libertine, which
 “ I thought were bold; others, as unnecessary, which I
 VOL. II. T “ looked

“looked upon as complete.” We have not only lost the criticisms of LUPERCUS, but the orations, on which these criticisms were founded. But in the sentence now quoted, the partiality of PLINY, as an author, might lead us to suspect, that the observations of LUPERCUS were just and unanswerable: at least, the prejudice, which PLINY often shews in favour of his own works, encourages such a suspicion.

The several quotations from DEMOSTHENES, and ÆSCHINES, were passages, in which LUPERCUS was perfectly well versed. They are intended as examples of the sublime; and some of the passages are admired as such by the critics; particularly “*Ἀνθρώποι μιᾶροι, καὶ κόλακες, καὶ ἀλάστορες*”. But as only the beginnings of sentences are introduced, and sometimes not more than two words^u, it is impossible to derive any illustration from such imperfect hints, so confusedly thrown together. They are easily to be found in their different authors, and will appear in their several places, to much more advantage, than in this epistle.

^t Vide Longin. περὶ ὑψους. cap. 26.

^u As Νόσημα γάρ.

EPISTLE XXVII.

PLINY to LATERANUS.

I Have often been convinced, especially of late, that power, dignity, majesty, and more than human influence, are appendent to history. A certain person rehearsed part of a narrative, filled with great truths; but reserved the remainder to some other day. Behold, many of his friends came to him, begging, and imploring, that he would not rehearse the rest. They were ashamed to hear what they had done, although they were not ashamed to do what they blushed to hear. He promised to grant their request; and he may keep his promise. For the book, like the actions, of which it treats, will still remain, and be read; and the more, because it is not immediately published; the curiosity of mankind being constantly excited by delays. Farewell.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

This epistle is remarkable. It shews, that great liberties were often taken at rehearsals, with the characters of particular persons. Such freedoms, however just, would have been extremely dangerous under the tyranny of DOMITIAN; the scene here represented undoubtedly passed in TRAJAN's reign. *Rarâ temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias, dicere licet*: "A time, says TACITUS, of rare felicity, when we are allowed to think as we please, and "to express our thoughts without the least restraint." But notwithstanding this glorious situation, whoever rehearsed in the manner here described, must have been a bold man. He must have been superior to hopes, fears, or flattery; he must have preferred truth to all personal affection, and must have acted in defiance of malice, hatred, or revenge. At the same time, that we wish to know the name of such an historian, the loss of the history itself is a subject of much greater regret.

EPISTLE XXVIII.

PLINY to VOCONIUS ROMANUS.

AFTER a long interval of time, I have received at once three letters from you: All most elegant, most affectionate, and particularly, as they came from you, most acceptable. In the first, you give me a very agreeable commission; that I should deliver your letters to that most excellent lady PLOTINA: I will take care to deliver them. In the same letter, you recommend to me POPILIUS ARTEMISIUS. I immediately granted his request. You also tell me, that your vintage has been but moderate: I can make to you the same complaint; although our estates are in different situations.

Your second letter tells me, that you are frequently dictating, or writing several compositions, which recall me to your remembrance. I return you many thanks; and the obligation will be still encreased, if

you permit me to read those compositions, which you write or dictate; nor is it less than a just return, that as I have communicated to you my writings, your works should be communicated to me; although they related to any other person than myself. At the end of your letter you promise, that as soon as you hear more particulars of the manner of life, which I propose to lead, you will quit your own family, and fly directly to me. I am, at this moment, preparing chains for you, from which you can by no means break loose.

Your third letter gives an account, that you have received my oration in defence of CLARIUS, and that it appeared longer to you now, than at the time when you heard me rehearse it. It is longer; for I have since made very many additions. You go on, and say, that you had sent to me some other letters, written in a more exact style; and you enquire, if I have received them: they are not arrived, but I am impatient to receive them. Convey them to me therefore by the first opportunity, with interest for the delay. I shall compute the interest at the rate of twelve *per cent.* nor can I set it lower. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

Nine epistles are extant from PLINY to VOCONIUS ROMANUS. This is the last. In the thirteenth epistle of the second book, PLINY expatiates upon the morals and endowments of ROMANUS, and mentions his family and descent. In the third epistle of the tenth book, we shall find PLINY entreating the emperor TRAJAN to make VOCONIUS ROMANUS a senator. And in the same letter he says, that he had before solicited NERVA to that purpose. Throughout all the epistles addressed, or relating to ROMANUS, the friendship of PLINY towards him is most conspicuous and sincere. But the scholiast CATANÆUS, in his account of ROMANUS, mentions a particular, that ought not to be omitted. *Sub ADRIANO interiit; et tumulo ejus, dum velut amicum*

amicum et poetam imperator veneraretur, ita scripsit, secundum
APULEIUM:

Lascivus versu, mente pudicus erat.

“ He died in the reign of ADRIAN, and the emperor,
“ who regarded him as his own particular friend, and as an
“ excellent poet, placed this inscription, according to APU-
“ LEIUS, upon his tomb :”

“ Modest in morals, but in verse obscene.”

EPISTLE XXIX.

PLINY to RUSTICUS.

AS it is more eligible to be master of one sci-
ence, than to be a moderate proficient in many ;
so it is better to know a little of many, if you can-
not possibly arrive at perfection in any one. I am
confirmed in this opinion by experience, having ap-
plied myself to various kinds of studies ; without
presuming to excel in any particular branch. For
this reason, when you read my compositions, either
upon one subject or another, pardon each piece, in
the same manner, as if they were not divided. In
other arts, the number pleads the excuse : shall lite-
rature, the most difficult of all undertakings, be con-
fined to a severer law ? But, why should I speak of
pardon, unless to shew my ingratitude ? For, if my
last works are received by you, with the same indul-
gence as my former, I may flatter myself rather with
hopes of praise, than of pardon. However, pardon
will be sufficient. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

PLINY from self-diffidence [*nulli satis confisus*] appears by
this letter to have quitted the constant pursuit of any one
particular branch of learning, and to have directed his ap-
plication

plication and attention in a miscellaneous manner. By former letters, we find, that his writings were sometimes biographical, sometimes poetical, and sometimes oratorical. In the latter science, he became extremely eminent: his biographic pieces are not known to us; and, as a poet, I imagine, he never could have excelled.

EPISTLE XXX.

PLINY to DUCENNIUS GEMINUS.

THE praises of your friend NONIUS, as a man of great generosity to particular persons, has been frequently the topic of your conversation with me, and is the subject of your last letter. I applaud him too; provided, that he will not always confine his bounty to particular objects. For my own opinion is, that a man, who would be truly bountiful, ought to exert his liberality towards his country, his neighbours, his relations, his friends; and let me say, by way of distinction, his friends in the greatest indigence; not like those persons, who chuse to apply their gifts, only where they see a probability of finding a most ample return. Such gifts, in my opinion, are like baited hooks; they are not meant to bestow your own property, but to catch the property of others. Of the same turn of mind are those, who take away from one person, to give to another; and by that kind of avarice, aim at the reputation of generosity. To be contented with our own, is the first point: the next, to go round the whole society of our friends in a kind of circle, relieving and assisting all such, whom we know to be in want.

If NONIUS observes all these rules, the praises of him should be unlimited: if he only fulfils one of them, he is to be praised, although in a lesser degree. For now, even the example of partial liberality is extremely rare: the thirst of gain is so excessive, that

that men seem to be possessed by their wealth, not to possess it. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

There is scarce any single branch of moral duty, that may not be found fully expatiated in PLINY's letters. With very little pains, such extracts might be drawn from his epistles, as must form a complete system of ethics. The rules of generosity cannot be more nobly delivered, than in this answer to GEMINUS: Rules, which PLINY practised in such a manner, as to render him one of the most conspicuous examples in that virtue, that can be produced in antient, or modern history.

Sed amicis dico pauperibus: "But let your bounty be extended to those friends only, who are indigent." Such a precaution was necessary in an age, where liberality seldom was directed by innate goodness of the heart, but often skulked under the mask of craft and design. PLINY explains his meaning in the next sentence.

Non ut isti, qui iis potissimum donant, qui donare maximè possunt: Not like those, who give only to such persons, "that are capable of making the largest donations." By the word *isti*, he points at the *Hæredipetæ*, or *Captatores*, who were so numerous a band of miscreants, in the days of PLINY, that they are mentioned with ridicule, and abhorrence, by all the satirists of that time^w.

^w Particularly by MARTIAL, who has an admirable epigram, *in Gargilianum captatorem*. Lib. 4. Epig. 56. See the observations on the last epistle of the second book.

EPISTLE XXXI.

PLINY to SARDUS.

WHEN I was gone from you, you were no less present to me, than when I was in your company. For, I read your book over and over; especially those parts (for I must confess the truth) that related to myself; in which you have been excessively

sively copious. How admirably have you multiplied and varied your observations, without saying the same things of the same person? Shall I join my praises with my thanks I cannot express either, in a sufficient manner: or, if I could, I should be under great apprehensions of appearing arrogant, by commending those particular passages, for which I ought to return my thanks. Let me add one word more. The most perfect parts appeared to me the most agreeable; and the most agreeable parts appeared to me the most perfect. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

This epistle from PLINY to SARDUS is of little consequence. We can only gather from it, that SARDUS, in some of his writings, had mentioned PLINY, in an honourable, and consequently in an acceptable manner. Our author is never more elated, than by the applauses of his friends. And he has laboriously studied to express his acknowledgments in these few lines; which are so filled with flowers and flourishes, and so deficient in an easy epistolary style, that it is probable, the shortness of the letter is owing to the pains, which it cost him. The works of SARDUS are lost.

EPISTLE XXXII.

PLINY to CORNELIUS TITIANUS.

WHAT are you doing? or what do you intend to do? For my own part, I lead the happiest, because the most indolent life imaginable; for which reason, I am inclined not to write long letters, but am desirous to receive them. The former inclination proceeds from a love of pleasure; the latter from a love of ease. For all luxurious men are exceedingly indolent; and all indolent men exceedingly curious. Adieu.

OBSER.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

There is a certain idle play of words in this epistle, that can scarce be equalled in a translation. It is a kind of surprise, to find the Latin language so expressive of trifles. I had almost said, this letter might more easily be translated into French than into English. PLINY certainly wrote it, just returned from the bath, and reclining on his couch, where, as GARTH poetically says,

He wastes away
In gentle inactivity the day.

E P I S T L E XXXIII.

P L I N Y to C A N I N I U S R U F U S.

AMONG other extraordinary events, which were the subject of our conversation the other night at supper, I recollected a story, which is certainly true, and yet so like a fiction, that it deserves to be embellished by such a lively, sublime, and poetical genius, as yours. The author is a man of great veracity: but what has a poet, you will say, to do with truth? However, he would find credit with you, even if you were writing an history.

In *Africa* there is a colony, called *Hippo*, close to the sea. Near the town is a navigable lake, to which an arm of the sea, in the form of a river, communicates itself, and the sea-water alternately flows into the lake, or into the ocean, according to the ebbs and flowings of the tide. Persons of all ages divert themselves here in fishing, sailing, and swimming; especially boys, who find a temptation for idleness and sport. Boldness and glory excite them to go very far; and he is always esteemed the conqueror, who leaves behind him, at the greatest distance, not only the shore, but his companions. In this contest, a
certain

certain boy, who was more courageous than the rest, advanced to the very extremity of the canal; when a dolphin presented itself, and went before him, then followed him, then went round him, then took him up, then let him down, then again came under him, and carried him (the boy all the time excessively affrighted) first into the sea, and then turning to the shore, brought him back to the land, and to his associates.

The rumour of this event soon spread itself throughout the whole colony; all the inhabitants run out to behold the boy, as a kind of miracle; and to interrogate him, and hear from him the particulars.

The next day the shore was covered with people, who kept their eyes fixed upon the sea, and upon every piece of water within sight. The boys began to swim; and this boy among the rest, but with greater caution than before. The dolphin returned at the same hour, and to the same boy, who immediately swam away, and his companions with him. The dolphin, as if he designed to invite and recal him, leaped, dived, and twined his body into a variety of forms. The next day, the day after, and during several days together, the same scene appeared, till the inhabitants, who from their childhood had lived near that sea, grew ashamed of their fears, and not only approached the dolphin, but played with him, touched, and even stroaked him. Their courage encreased by their experience. And in particular, the boy, who had first met him, now swam with him, and leaped upon his back: he was carried forward, and brought back again by him: the boy now imagined himself known to him, and beloved by him, and in return entertained an affection for the dolphin: fear being banished from each party, the confidence of the former, and the docility of the latter, mutually encreased. As an inducement and encouragement, the other boys swam on each side, to the right, and to the left.

This

This dolphin was accompanied by another, who appeared only as a spectator, and a companion. For he neither acted like the former, nor suffered himself to be touched. But he attended, and returned with his companion, in the same manner, that the boys waited upon their playfellow. It is incredible, but of equal truth with the particulars already related, that the dolphin, who carried this boy, and had played with his companions, came constantly upon the shore, and dried himself upon the sands; and as soon as he grew warm, rolled back into the sea. It is certain, that OCTAVIUS AVITUS, the legate of the proconsul, induced by an erroneous principle of religion, whilst the dolphin was upon the shore, poured ointment upon him; of which the novelty, and the perfume, immediately forced him to take refuge in the sea: nor did he appear again for many days; and when visible, seemed languid and spiritless. In a little time his strength returned, and he was as active, and as wanton as ever. A confluence of all the neighbouring magistrates were soon assembled, to behold such a sight: their arrival, and their stay, was attended with too extraordinary an expence to a little state, already not very rich. And by these means, the peace and government of the place itself was at last utterly destroyed. They were pleased therefore, privately to put to death the object, that had drawn together this number of people. With what pity, and what a flow of poetry will you lament, adorn, and heighten such a catastrophe? However, no addition, no fiction need be added to the fact itself. The truth of it, if not diminished, is sufficient. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

PLINY introduces the story of the dolphin with great nicety of judgement. He praises his uncle, without naming him. He begins, by telling CANINIUS, " That at a
 " time, when the discourse at table happened to run upon
 " tradi-

“ traditions, that were wonderful and surprizing, he had accidentally recollected a matter of fact, which carried with it the appearance of fiction, rather than of truth. But it was told by an author, whose character put the certainty of the event beyond a possibility of doubt; and who was a man of such established candour and impartiality, that even as an historian, his veracity would never be called in question.”

This Author was PLINY the elder. In the eighth chapter of his ninth book, he relates, not only the particular scene, that happened at *Hippo*, but several other examples of the same kind, all tending to demonstrate the affection, in which dolphins entertain for mankind. LUCIAN, in a dialogue between NEPTUNE and a dolphin, makes the latter assign a very good reason for such an affection. Μὴ θαυμάσῃς, ὦ Πόσειδον, εἰ τὲς ἀνθρώπους εὖ ποιῶμεν, ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἰχθύες γενόμενοι. “ You must not wonder, NEPTUNE, at our particular regards for mankind, since we ourselves were men before we became fishes.”

The ancient authors universally agree, that the dolphin, exclusive of all poetical or fabulous accounts, was ever remarkable for a fondness of the human species. The best philosophy cannot clearly explain this sort of instinct: but as instincts are generally directed by some impression upon the senses, from thence only we can attempt to solve instances of so very extraordinary a nature. In many animals, no sense is so acute, as the sense of smelling; nor affords more exquisite pleasure, or pain. A cat is surprisngly affected with the scent of *marum*, and by a variety of motions expresses the greatest delight. A dog will trace the lightest steps of a hare, or of his own master, by distinguishing these weak *effluvia* in the air from any other. If a natural reason could be given for the conduct of the dolphin mentioned in this letter, I should be apt to impute it to some particular smell in the boy, which distinguished him, and, like a charm, attracted the dolphin towards him. This fish seems to have been violently influenced by the sensation of smelling, as he was affected to so great a degree with the ointment poured upon him, from a ridiculous superstition, by OCTAVIUS AVITUS, the scent of which disturbed him in such a manner, that it drove him back into the sea, and made him languish for many days together.

Whatever was the cause of this surprising phænomenon, it is certain, that the generous disposition of the dolphin was

was ill repaid by the inhabitants of *Hippo*. But if we look upon the whole story as a fable, these moral maxims, at least, may be deduced from it. Many persons have been ruined by those popular virtues, for which they were first admired. Affection, when not contained within proper bounds, fails not to produce the same effects as hatred, and frequently meets with the same returns. The superstitious part of worship is hurtful to every species of the creation; while religion itself is like precious ointment, beneficial only where it is properly applied.

E P I S T L E XXXIV.

PLINY to S U E T O N I U S T R A N Q U I L L U S.

EXtricate me from a difficulty. I hear that my manner of reading poetry is not approved. I read orations better, and from that reason, have not so acceptable a manner in reading verses. I have some thoughts of trying my freedman^{*}, in the rehearsal of a poem, which I intended for my intimate friends. It will be treating them indeed with perfect intimacy, by chusing a person, who, I know, cannot read well; but yet he reads better than myself, if he is not under some confusion; for he is as new a reader, as I am a poet.

For my own part, I cannot determine what I ought to do while he is reading. Should I sit still, and remain mute, like an idle spectator? or should I accompany him while he is rehearsing, (a method, which I have seen practised) by my voice, my hands, and my eyes? But, I believe, I should be as much at a loss to accompany the exact measure of the verse, as to read it. Again, let me say, extricate me from this difficulty. Tell me truly, whether it is better for me to

^{*} ENCOLPIUS: the same person, who is mentioned in the first letter of the eighth book. See the observations upon that epistle, and the edition of PLINY by LONCOLIUS, page 697.

read ill, or whether or not, I ought to pursue the methods, which I proposed. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

QUINTILIAN, who might probably have observed in PLINY an harmonious manner of reading verse, recommends the method of teaching children to read poetry, as early as possible. "Verses, says he, are a kind of music: and must be read in a very different manner from prose. Heroic poetry elevates the mind; the importance of the subject inspires attention; and therefore HOMER and VIRGIL are to be rehearsed before they are understood. Frequent repetitions will open the beauties of every author^y."

The ancients took infinite pains to modulate their voices, and to render the cadence of their words musical, and distinct. They made particular gargles for their throats, and tried a variety of experiments to improve themselves in every branch of elocution. As rehearsals in poetry were eminently cultivated and distinguished, we may observe, that PLINY in this epistle, without having recourse to any effeminate methods, discovers an impatient desire to arrive at some degree of perfection in an art, that had been long esteemed a polite, and almost a necessary accomplishment.

^y Lib. i. cap. 8.

EPISTLE XXXV.

PLINY to OPPIUS.

I Have received your book, which you sent to me; and I return you thanks for it. But at this juncture, I happen to be so excessively employed, that although impatiently desirous to read it, I have not yet had that pleasure; and I have that veneration for all polite literature, and especially for your writings, that I should think it a kind of impiety, if I offered to peruse them, when my mind could not be perfectly attentive. I approve very much of your
great

great care in correcting your works; but even in polishing, an excess is to be avoided: first, because too much nicety rather impairs, than amends: then again, because it withdraws us from a fresh pursuit in our studies, and hinders us at once from finishing what is already begun, or from beginning any intended plan. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

OPPIUS seems to have been particularly delicate in correcting and polishing his works. This art, perhaps, demands more judgement than composition itself: like sculpture, it requires the nicest eye, and the steadiest hand. The hints given by PLINY in this short letter are amicable and just. The chisel may often take off beauties, while it aims only to pare away deformities. But on the other hand, a proper degree of correction is so necessary, that VIRGIL, in his dying moments, wished rather to destroy his *Æneid*, than to suffer it to appear without the last touches of his pen. And in a candid examination of our immortal SHAKESPEARE, we must own the criticism of BEN JOHNSON to be perfectly just, where he says ², “ I remember the players
“ have often mentioned it as an honour to SHAKESPEARE,
“ that in his writing, whatsoever he penned, he never
“ blotted out a line. My answer hath been, *would he had*
“ *blotted a thousand.*”

² See BEN JOHNSON'S *Explorata*, or Discoveries.

EPISTLE XXXVI.

PLINY to CORNELIUS FUSCUS.

YOU wish to know in what manner I dispose of my time in summer, while I stay at *Tusculum*. I wake without being called; generally about sun rise, often before that hour, seldom later. My windows remain shut. For silence and darkness have a wonderful happy effect upon the mind. When I am thus withdrawn

withdrawn from any object, that can call off attention, and am left free, and entire to myself, my thoughts are not led by my eyes, but my eyes follow my thoughts. For our eyes, when not diverted by other figures, see only such representations, as occur to our minds. If I have any work upon my hands, I ruminate, and examine every word of it, with as much exactness, as if it were committed to writing: and this employment takes me up more or less time, in proportion as my compositions are more or less difficult to perfect, or to remember. The windows are opened; I send for my secretary, and I dictate to him whatever I have finished: he goes away, and is called again, and again dismissed. At ten or eleven o'clock, (in that hour I am not exactly regular) according as the weather permits, I either walk upon my terrace, or in my gallery; and there again I continue to ruminate, and to dictate my meditations. From thence I go into my chariot, where I pursue the same course of study, which engaged me when I was walking, or when I was in bed. Intensity of thought is not disturbed by change of exercise. I afterwards sleep a little, and when I rise, and walk about, I immediately read aloud and distinctly, some Greek or Latin oration; not so much upon account of my voice, as to clear my lungs; although the voice is much improved by such a custom. I walk out again: at my return I am anointed, use exercise, and bathe. If I sup with my wife, or with a few select friends, a book is read to us, and after supper we are entertained by comedians or musicians. Then I walk out with my friends, among whom there are always some men of learning. In this manner the evening is passed away in a variety of discourses; and the very longest day is soon at an end. Sometimes I vary a little from this rotation. For if I have either lain upon my couch, or have walked
very

very long^a, instead of going in my chariot, after my last sleep, and my usual custom of reading aloud, I ride on horseback, the exercise of which, as it is quicker than a chariot, takes up less time. My friends come in upon me now and then, from the neighbouring villages; and their company takes up part of the day. Their visits, when I find myself fatigued, are often a very seasonable relief. I hunt sometimes; but never without my table-books, that if I find no game, at least I may find employment. A small portion of time, and, as they think, much too small, is allotted to my tenants. Their clownish conversation consisting of perpetual complaints gives me a fresh relish for literature, and polite entertainments. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

The subject of this epistle is perfectly curious, as it opens the scene of PLINY's domestic life. He begins, by telling us the hour when he waked, *circa horam primam, sæpe ante, tardius raro*: "About sun rise, generally sooner, very seldom "later." The ancients remained many centuries without any proper distinction of the hours, or different parts of the day. ANAXIMENES MILESIUS, who lived about the time of PYTHAGORAS^b, is said to have been the inventor of sun-dials, at *Lacedæmon*. The Romans received them much later. VALERIUS MESSALA, in taking *Catana*^c, carried from thence a sun-dial to *Rome*, in which city, according to some authors, PAPIRIUS CURSOR had placed a sun-dial, above thirty years before. But these dials were of little use, till SCIPIO NASSICA, in the year five hundred

^a It is necessary here to take notice of a different reading in LONGOLIUS from the rest of PLINY's editors. According to that scholiast, PLINY writes, *nam si diu jacui vel ambulavi*: "For if I "have lain on my couch, or walked very long." In the other editions, the paragraph runs, *nam si diu tacui vel ambulavi*: "For "if I have been silent, or have walked a considerable time." The former reading seems the more intelligible, and consequently preferable of the two; especially as it is consistent, and almost in the same words with that sentence, in the earlier part of this epistle, where PLINY says, *ibi quoque idem, ambulans aut jacens*.

^b Between five and six hundred years before CHRIST.

^c In Sicily.

VOL. II.

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and

and ninety five, invented the *Clepsydra*, which, by drops of water from one vessel into another, divided the hours into twelve equal parts, and made the same division also of the night. All persons of distinction among the Greeks and Romans kept a slave to denounce the time of the day: the Grecians call him Ὠρολόγιος λαβάρυτος. No particular name is assigned for such a servant among the Romans, but is often mentioned in various authors; as, by the old PLINY, who, speaking of the sudden death of CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS says, *ipse functus est, cum a puero quasiisset horas*^a: “He died just at the time when he was enquiring of his servant, what it was o’clock:” And by JUVENAL, who, in ridiculing old age, has this expression;

Clamore opus est, ut sentiat auris,

Quem dicat venisse puer, quot nunciet horas^b.

“The footman’s voice must needs be shrill, and clear,

“To tell the hour at noon, or who is there,

“Or else ’twill never reach his sluggish ear.”

PLINY remained in a fixed uninterrupted course of study, during three or four hours together. At ten or eleven o’clock, [*horâ quartâ vel quintâ*] he began his course of exercise, by walking in his gallery, or upon his terrace; and by taking the air in his chariot.

The excessive heats of the climate made retirement necessary at noon. *Sexta quies lassis*, says MARTIAL^c. But PLINY allowed as little time as possible to sleep, and much less, to any repast before it. He has not even mentioned his dinner. The *prandium* was taken about noon^d, and was always a very short meal, agreeable to the description in HORACE;

Pransus non avidè, quantum interpellat inani

Ventre diem durare, domesticus otior^e.

“At dinner when a mod’rate meal I’ve made,

“By which the calls of hunger are allay’d,

^a PLIN. Nat. Histor. Lib. 7. Cap. 53.

^b JUVENAL Satir. X. v. 216.

^c Lib. 4. Epig. 8.

^d PLINY, in his account of the eruption of *Vesuvius*, which appeared like a black cloud, about one o’clock after noon, speaking of his uncle, says, *gustaverat jacens*: “He had eaten his dinner as he lay upon his bed.” B. 6. ep. 16. See the observ. on the first epistle of the second book.

^e HORAT. sat. 6. lib. 1.

“Studious

“ Studious my vacant fancy how to please,
“ I pass the fleeting hours in home spent ease.”

From his couch, our author rose probably between one and two o'clock to resume his exercise, and to pursue his constant custom of reading aloud. Immediately afterwards, he prepared himself for the bath. *Ungor, exerceor, labor*: “ I am anointed, I exercise, and I bathe.” By the word *exerceor* is meant some of those exercises of ball, [the *follis* or *folliculus*] which have been elsewhere fully described ^a; and which were practised after dinner, and before the time of bathing. PLUTARCH tells us, that CATO never failed, as soon as he had dined, to play at ball, in the field of MARS; and HORACE, in his journey to *Brundisium*, says,

*Lusum it MÆCENAS; dormitum ego VIRGILIUSQUE;
Namque pilâ lippis inimicum et ludere crudis* ^b.

“ To tennis while MÆCENAS goes to play,
“ To bed both I and VIRGIL steal away;
“ We court repose, whose feeble chests and eyes
“ A sport like tennis too severely tries.”

Such agitations supplied the use of the *Laconicum*, and inspired that proper heat to the body, which was thought a wholesome, and necessary preparative for the bath.

After bathing, between three and four o'clock ^c, the supper was served up; elegant in itself, and rendered more elegant by the guests, who were invited to it. *Quorum in numero sunt eruditi*: “ Among whom, says PLINY, were always some men of learning.” All circumstances relating to the *cæna* of the ancients have been minutely discussed by a variety of authors. But the custom of lying down to their meals, and eating in a cumbent posture, appears to us not only an unwholesome, but an uneasy situation. SCIPIO AFRICANUS first introduced the supper-beds; which, as they came from *Carthage*, were called *lecti Punicani*, or *Archici* ^d. They were very low, unadorned, stuffed with straw,

^a See the essay on PLINY's life page 23.

^b HORAT. satir. 5. lib. 1.

^c This hour varied according to the different seasons of the year. See the first epist. of the second book, in which is described the domestic œconomy of SPURINNA.

^d From ARCHIAS, the name of the workman, who invented and sold them.

and covered only with the skins of goats, or sheep; but as luxury encreased, extravagance was introduced in every particular, especially in all the ornaments of the *Triclinia*.

The diversions of PLINY at supper, and the concluding entertainments of the day, were innocent and rational. Comedians, to excite mirth; music, to delight the ear; and books, to improve the understanding,

EPISTLE XXXVII.

PLINY to VALERIUS PAULLINUS.

YOY are neither of a disposition to require a ceremonial attendance from your friends, when it might prove detrimental to their interest; nor is my affection towards you so slightly rooted, as to make me suspicious, that if I cannot wait upon you on the first day of your consulship^a, you will think ill of me. I am detained here by the absolute necessity of putting my estate in order. I must let long leases; and must thereby pursue a plan, that is entirely new. For in the five last years, although I made very considerable abatements, yet I still found great arrears: and from hence many tenants, despairing to pay off the whole debt, took no care to lessen any part of it. On the contrary, they plundered, and destroyed the late produce of the land, as they were convinced they should have no right to any share of it. I must endeavour to obviate and amend those growing evils. One method that occurs to me, is, not to receive any rent in money, but to assume to myself a particular portion of the land, and to appoint some of my own servants as overseers, to see justice done to me in the produce of that land. And certainly no juster a revenue can be devised, than the crops that arise from the disposition of the soil, the climate, and the seasons. Such a regulation indeed demands a great number of men; all of whom must be very diligent, and perfectly honest. However I am under a neces-

^a *Te calendis statim videro.* See the observations.

sity to make the experiment; as prescriptions to inveterate diseases must be perpetually varied. You see, that I am not detained on account of pleasure, from attending you on the first day of your consulship. But it shall be celebrated here, as if I was at *Rome*, by my wishes for your prosperity, and all other marks of my joy and gladness. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

The introductory paragraphs of this epistle are perfectly genteel. The excuse made by *PLINY* has a certain artful turn in it peculiar to himself. He begins by prejudicing *PAULLINUS* in his favour, and then confirms and heightens those prejudices, by giving candid and justifiable reasons for his conduct. Throughout all these epistles, the manner, in which *PLINY* nicely avoids every species of flattery, and practises every rule of complaisance, is not less obvious, than delicate: adulation may be captivating to weak minds, and depraved understandings, but politeness must be always acceptable to the noblest natures, and will even be admired, where it is not imitated.

Nam priore lustris, &c. "For in the last five years." The *lustrum*^a was the space of five years. At the beginning of every fifth year, the Roman people paid the tribute laid upon them by the censors. This tax afterwards became annual. The general *census*, or lustration of the people, was introduced by *SERVIVS TULLIVS*, the sixth king of *Rome*. But by the expression in this epistle, *priore lustris*, we may learn, that the method among the Romans of letting leases was for five years; or rather, perhaps, for four years complete, and in the fifth new leases were taken, and new contracts made. *PLINY* seems to have been a considerable loser by pursuing this method. He resolves to go into another road, to let leases for a longer term of years; and to receive his rents in kind.

This epistle is evidently addressed to *PAULLINUS*, just as he was entering upon his consulship. The scholiasts seem to have mistaken the exact time. By the expression, *nisi te calendis statim consulem videro*, they imagine is meant the first of January; but upon a view of the consular calendar, the mistake will appear. *MARCUS VALERIUS PAULLINUS*

^a The derivation of the word is from *luo*, to pay.

PLINY'S EPISTLES.

was one of the *consules suffecti*, and with his colleague BÆBIUS MACER took possession of the consular dignity, on the calends of May, in the year of Rome eight hundred and fifty three. The consuls of the year were the emperor TRAJAN, and SEXTUS ARTICULEIUS PÆTUS.

EPISTLE XXXVIII.

PLINY to POMPEIUS SATURNINUS.

OUR friend RUFUS must always command my approbation. Not because you desire he should have it, which certainly would appear to me a sufficient reason, but because, in reality, he deserves it. I have read his book: it is perfectly complete. My affection for the author heightened my pleasure in the perusal. However I judged impartially. For those, who read with an ill-natured intention, are by no means the best judges. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

This is the fifth and the last letter to SATURNINUS. We may easily determine the person here mentioned to be the same, who is characterized and recommended by PLINY to FUNDANUS, in the fifteenth epistle of the fourth book. That letter begins with a very strong, and a very remarkable expression, *si quid omnino, hoc certe judicio facio, quod ASINIUM RUFUM singulariter amo*: "If I am directed by the unerring eye of judgement in any case whatever, it is in my particular affection for ASINIUS RUFUS." And in the same epistle we are told, that he not only enjoyed the friendship of PLINY, and of CORNELIUS TACITUS, but was peculiarly blessed in the eminent virtues of ASINIUS BASSUS, his eldest son. Such circumstances, of rare felicity, prove him to have been a very fortunate man.

EPISTLE XXXIX.

PLINY to MUSTIUS.

I AM admonished by the aruspices to repair, enlarge, and beautify the temple of the goddess CERES,

CERES, which is built upon my estate : the edifice indeed is very old and inconvenient, especially, as on a particular day of the year it is excessively crouded. For on the thirteenth of September, a great concourse of people assemble there from all parts of the neighbourhood. At that time it is a scene, where many affairs are transacted ; where also vows are paid, and where new vows are offered : but yet there is no shelter either from the sun, or from the rain.

It will appear in me therefore, at once a work of piety and munificence, if I rebuild this temple in a very handsome manner, and add to it a portico. The first for the use of the goddess, the latter for the use of the people.

I desire therefore, that you would buy four marble columns, of whatever sort you think fit : buy also a sufficient quantity of marble for the pavement, and for the side-walls. A statue of the goddess herself must be either made or bought : the present old statue is of wood, and in several parts of it is much impaired by time. As to the portico, I have mentioned all particulars belonging to it, that are necessary to be sent from the place where you are ; unless you will sketch out a plan agreeable to the situation. For the portico cannot be joined to the temple itself, because the temple is close to the steep bank of a river on one side, and on the other to the high road. There is beyond the high road an extensive field, in which, exactly over against the temple, the portico might very commodiously be situated ; unless you shall be of another opinion ; for I know all difficulties of situation are easily corrected by your art. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This old temple of CERES was placed near *Tifernum Tiberinum*, in *Tuscany*. In the first epistle of the fourth book PLINY tells FABATUS, that he is going with CALPURNIA into *Tuscany*, not to visit his estate, but to dedicate a temple,

which he had built there at his own expence; and in pointing out the situation, he says, *oppidum est prædiis nostris vicinum, nomen Tifernum Tiberinum*: "the city is adjoining to my estate: the name of it is *Tifernum*, upon the *Tiber*." In this epistle we find, that the temple stood upon some part of PLINY's estate [*est mihi ædes CERERIS in prædiis*] at a small distance, it is to be supposed, from the town.

MUSTIUS, from the subject, and especially by the last paragraph, appears to have been an architect; and was probably a man of eminence; but his name, I believe, is not mentioned by any other author. PLINY desires him to bespeak four marble pillars for the portico; a separate building, although in some degree appertaining to the temple itself. From hence the use and benefit of these porticos may easily be deduced: they were, as has been before observed^a, like a public exchange, and they were sometimes detached from the edifice, to which they properly belonged; as in this instance, where PLINY intends to build this portico overagainst the temple, and on the other side of the road.

The *aruspices*^b, by whose admonition [*aruspicum monitu*] PLINY had undertaken to rebuild the temple of CERES, were always more revered in *Tuscany*, than in any other part of *Italy*. They were in so high esteem, from their art of divination by the intrails of beasts, that in the reign of ROMULUS, some of these priests were brought from *Hetruria*, and settled in *Rome*: and some of the young Romans, of patrician families, were afterwards sent into *Tuscany* to be initiated into this particular science. PLINY probably paid an obedience and respect to the *aruspices*, from the same reasons, which induced CICERO to think them worthy of veneration. *Haruspicinam ego reipublicæ causâ, communisque religionis, colendam censeo*^c: "I am of opinion, says TULLY, that for the good of the state, and the common cause of religion, this inspection of intrails, and the predictions arising from it, ought to be encouraged."

I cannot dismiss my thoughts upon this subject, without mentioning an instance, that relates to the mysterious part of this divination. AGESILAUS, when he was in *Ægypt*, perceived his soldiers less alert and courageous than he expected. To give them spirits, he performed the part of an *aruspex*;

^a See the observ. on the 12th epist. of the 5th book.

^b *Ab aris inspiciendis*. These priests were also called *extispices*, *ab extis inspiciendis*.

^c *De divinatione*. Lib. 2.

having first privately written on the palm of his hand, in large Greek characters, the word ΝΙΚΗ, victory. When he had slain a victim, he held in his hand the intrails, until he imagined the word might be thoroughly impressed upon them by the heat, that attracted the letters. He then shewed the intrails, thus impressed, to all his men. The army was at once astonished, and encouraged by the prodigy, and the soldiers fought afterwards like enthusiasts assured of conquest.

E P I S T L E XL.

PLINY to CORNELIUS FUSCUS.

YOU tell me you are much pleased with my letter, in which I described my constant plan of life, during my residence in summer, at my house in *Tuscany*: and you desire me to change the scene, and to describe the manner, in which I pass my winters at *Laurentinum*. There is no difference, except that I never sleep at noon, and that I borrow many hours from the night, either before the day-break, or after sun-set. And if my business is very urgent, which frequently happens in winter, I am neither entertained by comedians, nor musicians; but at that time, I reconsider whatever I have before dictated, and I improve my memory by frequent emendations, not committed to writing.

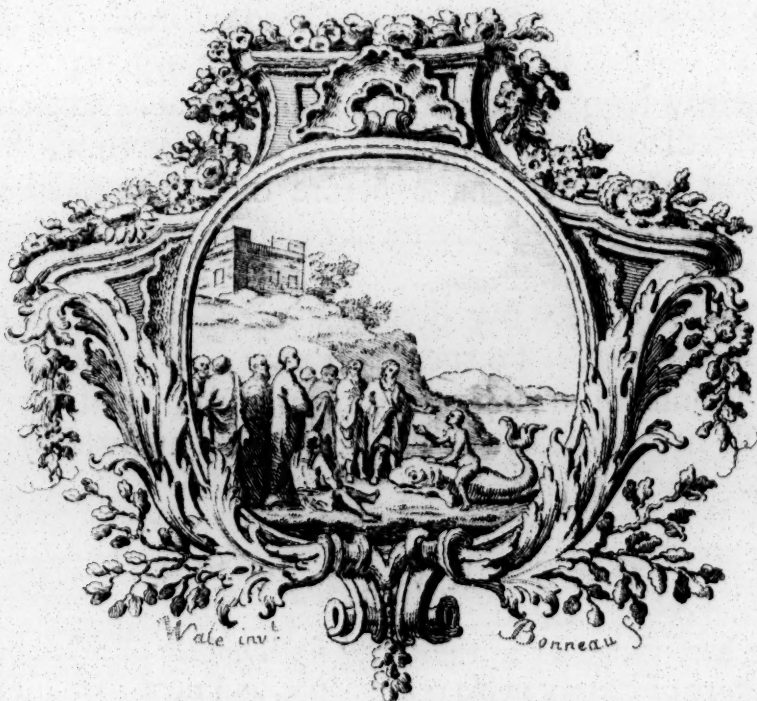
You have now my domestic œconomy in winter, and in summer. To these you may add the intermediate seasons of spring and autumn: in both which, as I lose little time by the day, so I gain as little by the night. Adieu.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

We here view, as in the thirty sixth epistle of this book, the picture of PLINY in his retirement, and rural life. True happiness perhaps only dwells in that situation. But as I have before observed to you, CHARLES, a person of PLINY's distinguished character has not a right to enjoy an inactive state

state of felicity. He is born and educated to support, cherish, and defend the commonwealth, to which he appertains. Abstracted virtues and knowledge, when not exerted for the use of society, are not only lost to the public, but are apt to languish, to contract a rust, and to lose their lustre, even in the owner. We therefore find PLINY particularly intent in preparing his mind, in such a manner, as may render him useful to his friends, and to his country. If he had neglected his elegant amusement, or his temperance, he might possibly have been more distinguished for envy, and the poignancy of satire, than for humanity and benevolence: his mind might have received a tincture of melancholy and acrimony, that must have rendered his turn and temper very different from what we find them in these epistles: so that by his studies, his diversions, and his exercise, he seems to have attained a great fund of knowledge, a perfect cheerfulness of disposition, and a healthful state of body; the three greatest blessings in human life.

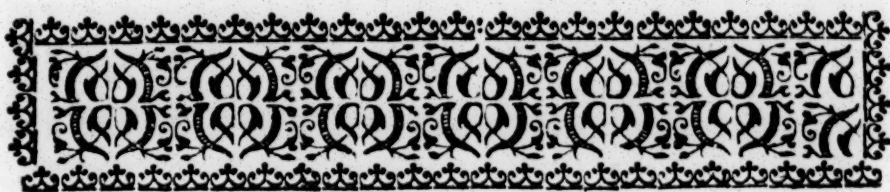
The END of the NINTH BOOK.



THE
TENTH BOOK
OF
PLINY'S EPISTLES.



Printed in the Year MDCCLII.



THE
P R E F A C E
TO THE
TENTH BOOK
OF
PLINY'S EPISTLES.

Fungar indicis partibus, atque etiam, quo sint ordine scripti,
notum tibi faciam. Est enim hæc quoque studiosis non
injudicanda cognitio. PLIN. Lib. 3. Ep. 5.

*THIS tenth book, my dear LORD BOYLE, seems to
require an introduction. You will find in it a very
different style from the epistolary manner of writing,
which PLINY has hitherto pursued. All the letters are
upon solid and serious subjects, and are devoid of those
nicer touches and embellishments, which you must fre-
quently have observed in PLINY's correspondence with his
more familiar, and less exalted friends. But, as in the
arrangement*

arrangement of the epistles, I have differed widely from all former editors, I cannot devise a better method to justify such an alteration, than by giving you a short account of TRAJAN's reign, from the death of NERVA, to the last traces of PLINY in Bithynia, and by intermixing with it the reasons, that have induced me to place the epistles in the order, in which you will find them.

A. U. C.
850.
TRAJAN.
1.

NERVA died on the twenty seventh of January, in the year of Rome eight hundred and fifty. He had reigned from the eighteenth of September, eight hundred and forty eight; and in the year eight hundred and forty nine had adopted M. ULPIUS TRAJANS CRINITUS, giving him the style of Cæsar, and conferring upon him the tribunitial power. At the time of NERVA's death, TRAJAN was at the head of an army in the Lower Germany^a. No prince was ever called to the imperial throne, who bore a higher character, or was more universally beloved than TRAJAN. His civil and military virtues were equally conspicuous, and had secured to him the unanimous affection of the Roman people, although by birth he was a Spaniard, and not in any degree of alliance, except in friendship, with the preceding emperor. At the time of his accession, he was in the forty second year of his age. PLINY takes the earliest opportunity of conveying to him a congratulatory address, which must be always placed as the first epistle of the ensuing collection.

*PLINY married his wife CALPURNIA, the niece of HISPULLA, and the granddaughter of FABATUS, in the first year of TRAJAN's reign. As a compliment to this marriage, and in compliance with the request of JULIUS SERVIANUS, the emperor granted to PLINY the *jus trium liberorum*^b; a privilege, to which great advantages were annexed. In the same year PLINY was ap-*

^a Some authors affix him at *Agrippina*, which is now the archiepiscopal see of *Cologne*.

^b Epistle 2.

pointed præfect of the treasury of SATURN: and as he found himself in the favour and good opinion of TRAJAN, he exerted all his power with the emperor, to the honour and advantage of his own particular friends, such as VOCONIUS ROMANUS, ANTONIA MAXIMILLA, and HARPOCRAS the physician. The letters, relating to these persons^a, may, I think, be dated in the first and second years of TRAJAN's reign.

The seventh letter may be affixed to the year eight hundred and fifty one; because in that epistle PLINY mentions his intentions to meet the emperor, whose presence in the metropolis was not less expected, than desired^b.

A. U. C.
851.
TRAJAN.
2.

TRAJAN, on account of his absence in Germany, having refused the consulship, SOSSIUS SENECIO, and A. CORNELIUS PALMA, were the consuls of the year. The exact time of TRAJAN's return to Rome is not adjusted by DION, or any other author: it was probably towards the winter season, he having made some stay in the several towns and provinces, through which he passed. His arrival was very different from the pompous magnificence of his predecessors. He entered the city on foot, and saluted all his friends with his usual openness and familiarity. He appeared an emperor, only by the applauses of the people, which he received with great decency and composure. His first attention seems to have been to religion; as towards the latter end of this year, and the beginning of the next, the third general persecution of the Christians was carried on by him with great violence.

In this year PLINY made an excursion into Tuscany, to lay the foundation of a temple, which he had long since designed to build at Tifernum Tiberinum. In the epistle^c, addressed to the emperor, for leave of absence, PLINY proposes to go from Rome about the beginning of September; at which time, it is probable, that TRAJAN was not arrived.

^a Epistles 3, 4, 5, and 7.

^c Ep. 8.

^b Vide Panegyric, sect. 60.

A. U. C.
852.
TRAJAN.
3.

The consuls for the year eight hundred fifty two were the emperor himself, and M. CORNELIUS FRONTO. PLINY, in his panegyric, tells us, that TRAJAN revived the antient method of chusing consuls, by presenting himself as a candidate for that magistracy, and by suing for the suffrages of the tribes, in the same manner, as if he had been a private citizen. Such a condescension must have engaged him most effectually to the Roman people: and he appears to have accepted the consulship with no other view, as he resigned the fasces to SEXTUS POMPEIUS COLLEGA, on the calends of the following March.

PLINY passed part of this year at his villa in Tuscan^d, but was recalled from thence by the entreaties of the Andalusians, who implored his patronage and assistance against their late proconsul CÆCILIUS CLASSICUS.

SPURIUS CORNUTUS TERTULLUS, and C. PLINIUS CÆCILIUS SECUNDUS, were elected consuls on the calends of September. The famous panegyric, in honour of TRAJAN, was spoken by PLINY upon this occasion. The dignity seems to have been given him only for that purpose. On the calends of November the consules suffecti were, JULIUS FEROX, and ACUTIUS NERVA.

A. U. C.
853.
TRAJAN.
4.

The consuls for the year eight hundred and fifty three were, the emperor TRAJAN, and SEXTIUS ARTICULIUS PÆTUS. In this year PLINY finished his temple at Tifernum Tiberinum, and was present at the dedication of it. He visited his native Comum^e, and contributed towards the foundation of a public school there. At his return to Rome he wrote an epistle to LICINIUS SURA, giving him an account of a wonderful spring, which had been discovered in a mountain near Comum^f. SURA was at this time attending the emperor in his expedition against the Daci. The victory obtained over that nation reduced their king DECEBALUS to accept such terms, as the emperor thought

^f See book 4. ep. 6. and book 9. ep. 15, 36, and 40.

^e Book 4. epistle 13.

^f Book 4. ep. 30.

fit to impose. The articles of the peace are mentioned by DION, with this particular circumstance, that when DECEBALUS was introduced to TRAJAN, he threw himself, in token of submission, at the emperor's feet. As this was the first Roman conquest over the Daci, TRAJAN was honoured with the surname of DACICUS.

The consuls for the year eight hundred and fifty four were, C. SOSSIUS SENECIO, and C. LICINIUS SURA. The emperor's triumph, on account of his success in Dacia, afforded great rejoicings and entertainment to the citizens of Rome. In the mean time, DECEBALUS, as has been observed in another place^a, grew impatient of subjection, and broke through the several articles of peace, with which he had so lately, and so publicly complied.

A. U. C.
854.
TRAJAN.
5.

Although many of PLINY's letters may be ascertained to the years fifty four and fifty five, yet no epistolary correspondence seems to have passed between him and TRAJAN, during that time, unless a recommendatory letter or two, which I have placed within that period^b.

The year eight hundred and fifty five began with the consulship of TRAJAN, and L. APPIUS MAXIMUS. Preparations having been already made against the Daci, TRAJAN crossed the Danube early in the spring, and entered their country with a considerable army: his success was as rapid as possible, and was owing to his own personal courage and conduct, and to the assistance and behaviour of his kinsman ADRIAN. The Daci were entirely subdued, and their territories were immediately reduced into a Roman province. PLINY, in a very elegant epistle^c, congratulates the emperor upon so consummate a victory.

A. U. C.
855.
TRAJAN.
6.

*During the emperor's absence in Dacia, the augurship became vacant by the death of SEXTUS JULIUS FRON-
TINUS. You will find PLINY^d solicitous to obtain that dignity. He succeeded in his request, as appears not only*

^a See observations on epistle 4. book 8. ^b Epistle 12, and 13.

^c Epistle 14.

^d Epistle 15.

from his epistle to *ARRIANUS* in the fourth book ^a, but from those monuments exhibited by *GRUTER*, upon which the several titles and dignities of *PLINY* are inscribed.

The emperor, on his return into Italy, visited the great works, which he had been carrying on for two years past at *Centumcellæ*: and *PLINY*, you may remember, mentions the honour, which he received in being summoned to council at that place ^b.

TRAJAN, who had shewed great delicacy and prudence in chusing governors for the provinces, invested *PLINY* with consular power over *Bithynia*, *Pontus*, and the republic of *Byzantium*.

PLINY has not even hinted in what season of the year he left Italy, or from what port he embarked. We may suppose indeed, that he began his voyage about the latter end of June, or the beginning of July. By his own account he landed, during the dog days, at *Ephesus* in *Ionnia* ^c; and proceeded by land to *Pergamus*, a city of *Myfia*. Illness and other accidents detained him there for some time, and as he was apprehensive, that a journey by land might still be prejudicial to his health, he set sail again with his whole train of attendants, and continued coasting along the *Asiatic* shore, through the straits of the *Hellespont*, into the *Propontis*. He arrived in *Bithynia* on the seventeenth of September, and after celebrating the anniversary of the emperor's birth, applied himself to the immediate business of his government, by examining the state accounts of *Prusa* ^d, a city at the foot of mount *Olympus*. As *PLINY* made some stay at *Prusa*, the letters, which he may be supposed to have written in that city, particularly in the cause of *FLAVIUS ARCHIPPUS*, are placed together, as are those, which appear dated at *Nicea*, a large city, north eastward of *Prusa*. From *Nicea*, *PLINY* proceeded to *Nicomedia*, the metropolis of *Bithynia*: and by one of his epistles ^e, he appears to have been settled there, on the twenty fourth of November. It is not

^a Epistle 8.

^d Ep. 18.

^b Book 6. ep. 31.

^e Ep. 31.

^c Ep. 16.

probable,

probable, that PLINY, during the winter season, went into any other parts of the province, or even stirred out of Nicomedia. The letters from thence are regulated in a series, that seems to be their natural order.

The first epistle, written by PLINY in the year eight hundred and fifty six, is an account, in what a joyful manner, the third of January, [dies votorum] was celebrated in Bithynia^a. On this festival the Romans constantly offered their vows to heaven for the eternity of the empire, and the health of the emperor^b. A. U. C.
856.

On the twenty seventh of January, TRAJAN entered into the seventh year of his imperial dignity. PLINY mentions the celebration of that day^c. The subsequent letters dated from Nicomedia relate entirely to the transactions, laws, and customs of the province: in all which he discovers the greatest reverence and submission to the emperor's judgement and orders, and in the answers of that prince, he receives the kindest assurances of friendship, confidence and esteem. Such a correspondence between a sovereign and a subject is no less curious than extraordinary: but if we are to pass an impartial judgement upon the two correspondents, the emperor's epistles will certainly outshine those of PLINY, to which they are answers. The conciseness and sagacity, which run throughout TRAJAN's style, and manner of writing, shew him an artist, if I may make use of the expression, in the epistolary science. But, this is not a place for such observations: they will arise more properly, as we are passing through his epistles. TRAJAN.
7.

Let us consider the transactions of this year. PLINY, it may be presumed, staid till the beginning of the spring, before he began his progress into the distant parts of Bithynia. From his epistles we may point out the exact traces of his journey.

^a Ep. 34.

^b This religious ceremony was called *nuncupare vota*: and at the ratification of the vows, altars were erected, incense was burnt, and feasts were made publicly in the streets.

^c Ep. 38.

As soon as he left Nicomedia, he went to Prusa ^a, a town of Bithynia, upon the Euxine shore, near the river Hypius ^b.

*From Prusa, I suppose him to proceed to Claudiopoli-
lis ^c, otherwise called Bithynium. The latter, I believe,
was the original name. The former was probably assumed
in honour of CLAUDIUS CÆSAR.*

*The next epistle is dated at Amastris, which, PLINY
the elder tells us, was antiently called Sefamus ^d. In
the time of our author it was a city of great beauty and
magnificence. It lies to the North East of Claudiopoli-
s, near to the river Parthenias, which the Turks call the
river Dolap.*

*Sinope was the next place, at which our author re-
sided, or at least, was the next place, from whence we
can date an epistle ^e. Sinope was built, in the year of
Rome, one hundred and twenty five. In the time of
JULIUS CÆSAR, immediately after the war betwixt him
and POMPEY, this city, which was then subject to MI-
THRIDATES, king of Pontus, fell into the power of the
Romans, and became a Roman colony ^f. It now belongs
to the Turks, who call it Sinabe.*

*From Sinope, PLINY proceeded to the city Amisus.
Two of his epistles were written from thence ^g; but we
can trace him no farther on the Euxine shore.*

*We must then suppose him returning towards Nico-
media, and therefore the next epistle is dated from Juli-
opolis.*

^a Ep. 64. *Prusa ad Hypium flumen, vel secundum alios sub Hypio monte.* Cellarii Lib. 3. Cap. 8. Sect. 34.

^b It was called *Prusa ad Hypium*, to distinguish it from *Prusa ad Olympum*. See observations on epistle 19.

^c Ep. 68.

^d *Sesamum oppidum quod nunc Amastris.* PLINII Nat. Hist. Lib. 6. cap. 2.

^e Ep. 72.

^f PHARNACES, son of MITHRIDATES, by betraying his father, gained possession of *Sinope* and *Amisus*. He then rebelled against the Romans; but he was subdued, and his army was entirely routed by JULIUS CÆSAR.

^g Epistle 75, and 77.

Our author describes Juliopolis as a city of no great consequence: but one particular expression in his letter has made the geographical site of it a little difficult to be reconciled. *Quicquid autem Juliopolitanis præstiteris, id etiam toti provinciæ proderit. Sunt enim in capite Bithyniæ, plurimisque per eam commeantibus transitum præbent*^a. “*Whatever indulgence you think fit to bestow upon the inhabitants of Juliopolis, it will certainly prove of advantage to the whole district, as Juliopolis is placed at the entrance of Bithynia, and as most travellers make it their road into the province.*” The situation of Juliopolis, which, according to the elder PLINY^b, is also called Gordiucome, can by no means be said to be the entrance into Bithynia from Byzantium, or from any part of Italy: however, it might possibly be looked upon as the entrance of the province from Gallogræcia, and Paphlagonia; although CELLARIUS is of another opinion^c: but whoever looks upon the map of Asia Minor, as given by that geographer, will find, that such a solution is the most probable of any, that can be given to PLINY’s assertion.

The epistle^d from Apamea, a city lying close to the Propontis, brings PLINY very near Nicomedia.

The eighty third epistle refixes him at that metropolis, and from the subsequent letters, there is not the least foundation to imagine, that he made a second progress into the provinces, or even went at any distance from Nicomedia, during his proconsulship.

All the letters, from the eighty eighth to the ninety fourth epistle inclusive, are curious, as they explain to us the particulars of the laws, government, and state of the two provinces, Bithynia and Pontus.

^a Epistle 79.

^b Lib. 5. Cap. 32.

^c Ptolemæus quidem Juliopolim quamdam in extrema Bithynia ad Galatiæ fines ultra Dadaſtanam memorat: verum hæc non est in capite Bithyniæ, ut Pliniana erat. CELLARII Geograph. Lib. 3. cap. 8.

^d Epistle 81.

The P R E F A C E.

PLINY, in the ninety fourth epistle, again celebrates TRAJAN's birth-day.

The ninety seventh, and the emperor's answer to it, are in their usual places. The latter contains some degree of gentleness and humanity towards the Christians: and, at the same time, shews a most noble abhorrence to all clandestine informations. The notes in the quarto, and in the variorum editions, will refer you to several authors who have discussed the subject-matter of these two epistles. But, the ninety seventh letter itself, without any commentator, will particularly convince you, in how great purity of morals the primitive Christians passed their lives. You will there see the innocent and infantile state of Christianity. Succeeding ages produced errors, and idolatries of various sorts. Let the present state of Christianity be described in some other place, and by some other pen, and let us now pass forward to the festivities of the dies votiva, when the vows of the last year were ratified, and new vows commenced in honour of TRAJAN and the empire.

A. U. C. 857. The epistle on this occasion^a is to the same purpose as the thirty fourth epistle: but it may not be improper to take notice, that ROSINUS, in his Roman calendar, affixes this festival to the fourth of January, and quotes CAIUS, a civilian, for his authority. The quotation is right^b, but CAIUS is mistaken. PLUTARCH, cotemporary with PLINY, decides the point beyond all contradiction. In his life of CICERO he says, Τεκθῆναι δὲ Κικερωνᾶ λεγασιν ἀνωδυνῶς καὶ ἀπονῶς λοχευθείσης αὐτῆς τῆς μητρος, ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ τῶν νεῶν καλαινῶν, ἐν ἣ νῦν οἱ ἀρχόντες εὐχούται, καὶ θυοῦσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡγεμονος. “The birth of CICERO, “ they say, did not occasion the pangs of child-birth to “ his mother. He was born on the third of January,

^a Ep. 107.

^b Post calendas Jan. tertio die pro salute principis vota suscipiuntur. “The vows for the prosperity of the “ emperor were performed on the third day after the calends.” The calends were the first day of the month.

“ which

“ which day is now celebrated by the magistrates in vows
 “ and sacrifices for the prosperity of the emperor.”

The next epistle ^a is the celebration of TRAJAN'S ac-
 cession to the empire. TRAJAN.
8.

Most of the epistles, which follow, may be supposed to have been written in this year: but it will be more difficult perhaps, to assign a good reason for placing the hundred and twenty first epistle, where you will find it in this new series, than for not placing it in the same order with former editors. We may conjecture, that PLINY having been in Bithynia, resolved not to leave the province without some evidence of gratitude towards his physician: but we can never suppose, that the moment after he had received an instance of the emperor's indulgence to his physician HARPOCRAS ^b, he should again apply to his imperial master for the same kind of indulgence to his physician MARINUS ^c.

It is scarce possible to devise, from what motive the epistle concerning CÆLIUS CLEMENS, which undoubtedly ought to be placed the last, has been placed very early in the tenth book, even by the latest editors, who have altered the former situation of PLINY's letters. CÆLIUS CLEMENS was appointed successor to PLINY, as proconsul, or to be more exact, legate with proconsular power, over the provinces of Bithynia and Pontus, and the republic of Byzantium. He was to take possession of his proconsulship as soon as he had fulfilled the dignity of consul: and from this last circumstance, we may in some measure guess the time of PLINY's departure from Bithynia ^d. CLEMENS was consul during the months of March and April. At the time of writing this epistle, CLEMENS was in his consulship: so that PLINY could scarce leave his government till the month of May. Few traces are to be found of him after his return to Italy.

^a Epistle 109.

^b Epistle 4.

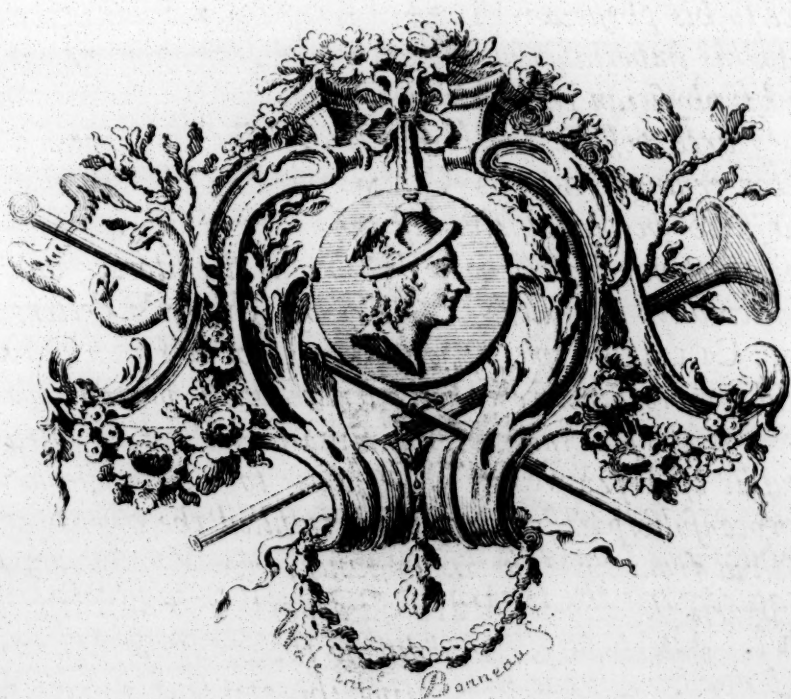
^c Epistle 121.

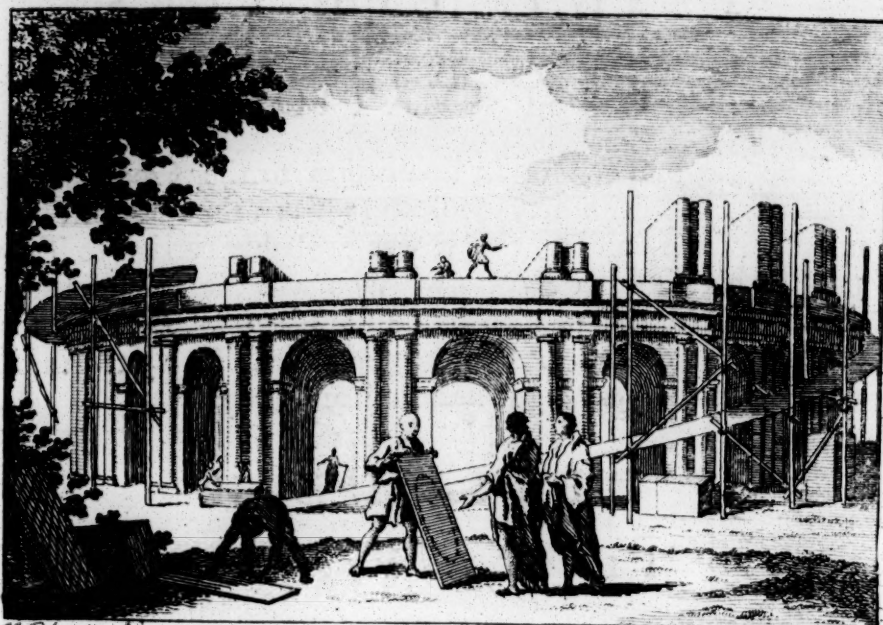
^d By the original institution, the proconsulship was to subsist only one year.

The PREFACE.

I have now prepared you for the situation, in which I have fixed the epistles ; but I know not what to say for my translation of the word Dominus. To render it exactly, perhaps we should call it Master. I have chosen the word [Sir] as being more familiar to us, and more easy in the epistolary style : but to speak the truth, I can find no other word sufficiently adequate to the Latin expression.

The End of the PREFACE to the TENTH BOOK.





Wale inv.

Bonneau. f.

PLINY'S EPISTLES.

BOOK X.

EPISTLE I.

PLINY to TRAJAN.



OUR filial piety, most sacred emperor, desired that your succession to your father might be as late as possible: but the immortal Gods hastened to reward your virtues, by fixing you at the helm of that commonwealth, which you had already steered.

I beseech heaven therefore, to bestow upon you the utmost prosperity. By your means, may the whole race of human kind be made happy. Or in other words, may all events be worthy of your reign. May health and felicity attend the best of princes in his public, and in his private life,

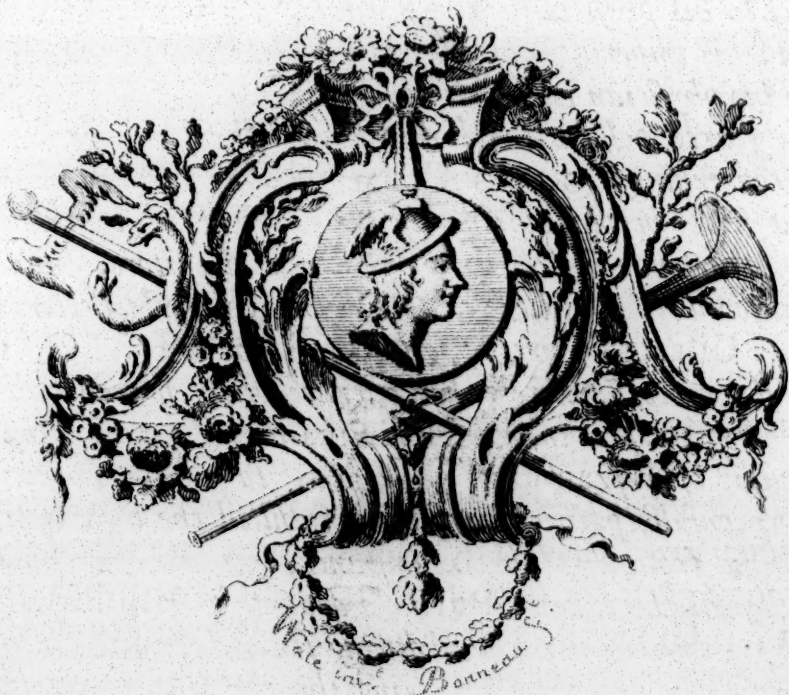
OBSE R-

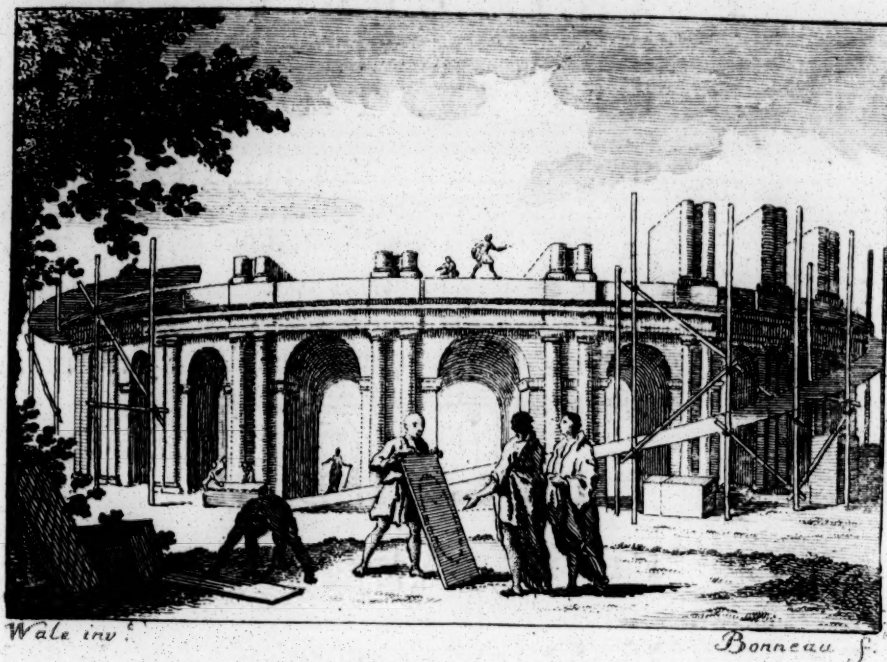
Written
from
Rome.
A. U. C.
850.
Of
TRAJAN'S
reign.
1.

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PLINY'S EPISTLES.

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OBSE R-

OBSERVATIONS.

This is a prayer, or an invocation to the Gods, rather than a letter. We may conjecture from the purport, and manner of the epistle, that it was probably carried to TRAJAN by his kinsman ADRIAN, who was the first messenger dispatched from *Rome* into the *Lower Germany*, with the news of NERVA's death. ADRIAN succeeded TRAJAN in the empire, in the year eight hundred and sixty.

EPISTLE II.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From *Rome*,
A. U. C.
850.
TRAJAN.
I.

WORDS, Sir, cannot express my joy, in finding, that you think me worthy of *those rights, which belong to the fathers of three children*. For, although in this instance, you have indulged that most excellent man, JULIUS SERVIANUS, your own devoted servant; yet, I plainly perceive by your answer, that you granted the request more willingly, because it was made in regard of me. I seem therefore, to have reached the very summit of my wishes, seeing myself the object of your peculiar favour, at the beginning of your most auspicious reign.

You will easily believe, by my two marriages, how desirous I have ever been of having children. I wished for them even in the worst of times. But, the Gods have decreed a more preferable fate; and have reserved all my felicity to be crowned by your goodness. I should chuse most particularly to be a father, at this time, when I have a certain prospect of future happiness and safety.

OBSERVATIONS.

The friendship between JULIUS SERVIANUS and PLINY was reciprocal. From this epistle we find, that SERVIANUS exerted

exerted his utmost power in favour of PLINY: and in the seventeenth epistle of the third book, and the twenty sixth epistle of the sixth book, PLINY expresses great tenderness and affection towards SERVIANUS; and speaks of him in other places ^a, with great deference and respect.

The following sentence has seduced some of the commentators into a mistake. *Eoque magis liberos concupisco, quos habere etiam illo tristissimo seculo volui, sicut potes duobus matrimoniis meis credere.* They imagine, that PLINY, who had two wives, was twice married before the death of DOMITIAN: but in a letter to QUADRATUS ^b, he particularly mentions the time when his first wife died, and excuses himself from waiting upon ANTEIA, “because he had then lately lost his wife, and was confined from going abroad by decency, and the excess of his affliction.” That epistle, from the purport of it, evidently appears to have been written Anno U. C. 848, in the first year of NERVA’s reign. A parenthesis would not only prevent any chronological mistake, but would clear up the obscurity of the paragraph, and render it answerable to the sense in which it is translated. *Eoque magis liberos concupisco, (quos habere etiam illo tristissimo seculo volui) sicut potes duobus matrimoniis credere:* “And from hence I am particularly desirous to have children, (since I wished for them even in the most inauspicious times) as you may imagine by my two marriages.”

^a Book 7. epistle 6. and book 8. epistle 23.

^b Book 9. epistle 13.

EPISTLE III.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

YOUR indulgence to me, most excellent emperor, has been so unlimited, that it still emboldens me to seek favour from you, even in behalf of my friends, among whom VOCONIUS ROMANUS must ever claim the highest place. In our earliest years, the same bed contained us, and the same school gave us education. For which reasons, I formerly petitioned your royal father, to promote my friend to the

From Rome.
A. U. C.
850.
TRAJAN.
1.

the senatorial order: but to your goodness is reserved the completion of my wishes. For the mother of ROMANUS had not legally performed her promise, in giving him the free gift of four hundred thousand sesterces ^a, which, by her letters to your father, she had promised to give. She has since, by my advice, fulfilled her promise; for, she has not only conveyed to him the particular lands, but has also exercised every other act necessary to make the conveyance valid. Since then the affair is finished, which delayed the execution of my hopes, with the greatest confidence I offer you my security for the morals of my friend ROMANUS, which appear in full lustre, by his own polite learning, and by his filial piety; a piety, that not only procured to him this benefaction from his mother, but even put him into immediate possession of his own father's estate, and gained him the adoption of his father-in-law. All these advantageous circumstances are increased by the splendour of his family, and by his great wealth; and I believe, that even my commendation of his particular virtues may probably entitle him to your indulgence. I beseech you, Sir, to grant me the much desired opportunity of congratulating ROMANUS, and of boasting, (since my affections are, as I hope, founded in virtue) that your approbation and judgement have not only been conferred upon me, but upon my friend.

OBSERVATIONS.

By this epistle we are informed, that the senators were obliged to prove themselves worth a certain number of sesterces, before they could arrive at the senatorial dignity. SÜETONIUS mentions the particular sum. *Senatorum censum ampliavit: ac pro octingentorum millium summa duo decies H. S. taxavit, supplevitque non habentibus* ^b: "The qualification for the senatorial order was enlarged by AUGUS-

^a Equal to 3229*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

^b SÜETONIUS. CÆSAR AUGUSTUS, Cap. 41.

“TUS. He made it necessary, that each senator should have an estate worth twelve hundred thousand sesterces^a, instead of eight hundred thousand sesterces^b. And he supplied, out of his own revenue, such persons, whom he was desirous to qualify for that assembly.” This proportion of wealth was called the *census senatorius*; and was originally instituted, as the most effectual means to secure persons from being chosen, whose indigence might bring infamy, or inconvenience, upon the high station, which they enjoyed. According to PLINY the elder, the effect was not answerable to the intention: he says, in the beginning of his fourteenth book, *Postquam senator censu legi cœptus, judex fieri censu, magistratum ducemque nihil magis exornare, quam census, pessum iere vitæ pretia: omnesque a maximo bono liberales dictæ artes in contrarium cecidere, ac servitute sola profici cœptum*: “Some senators and judges have been chosen on account of their wealth; and since riches have been the best pretensions, either to the magistracy, or to the military employments, all the more valuable qualifications are become useless: and those arts, that assumed their name from the liberty, to which they owed their rise, have fallen into disesteem; the basest servitude being the only road to fortune.”

^a Equal to 9687 l. 10 s.

^b Equal to 6458 l. 6 s. 8 d.

EPISTLE IV.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

BEING afflicted, Sir, last year, by a very severe disorder, in which my life was almost despaired of, I employed one of those physicians, whose profession is to cure diseases by unguentary applications. I can make no suitable return, unless by your favour, to the care and skill, which he shewed upon the occasion. Let me therefore entreat you to create him a Roman citizen. He is of foreign extraction, and received his manumission from a foreign lady. His name

From Rome.
A. U. C.
850.
TRAJAN.
1.

PLINY'S EPISTLES.

name is HARPOCRAS. His patroness was THERMUTIS, the daughter of THEON. She is since dead.

Let me farther ask you, to give the rights of a citizen, as instituted by ROMULUS, to HELIA, and to ANTONIA HARMERIS, the freedwomen of ANTONIA MAXIMILLA. This request is made to you by me, at the entreaty of their patroness. Farewell.

EPISTLE V.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
850.
TRAJAN.
I.

I Return you thanks, Sir, for having so immediately indulged me, by granting the rights of Roman citizens to the freedwomen of a lady, with whom I am closely connected in friendship; and the peculiar rights of a Roman citizen to HARPOCRAS my physician. But while, according to your order, I was employed in registering his age, and estate, some persons, more experienced than myself, told me, that I ought first, to have asked for him the freedom of the city of *Alexandria*, because he was an *Ægyptian*, and afterwards the freedom of the city of *Rome*. But, as I did not imagine, that there was any essential difference between the birth of an *Ægyptian*, and of other foreigners, I contented myself, by telling you only, that he was enfranchised by a lady, who was a foreigner, and who had been dead some time. Nor, can I yet repent of my ignorance, since it allows me to receive repeated obligations from you, for the same man. That I may therefore lawfully enjoy the benefit, which you intended me, I must solicit you to grant him the freedom, both of *Alexandria*, and of *Rome*. And, that no accident may again stop your intended goodness, I have sent, as you commanded me, an account of his age and his estate, to your freedmen.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE VI.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

I Was resolved to follow the example of my predecessors, by being particularly cautious in bestowing the freedom of *Alexandria*: but, as you had already demanded from me the freedom of *Rome*, for your physician HARPOCRAS, I find it impossible not to grant you this other request in his favour. You ought to let me know, to what province of *Ægypt* he belongs, that I may send to you a letter for my friend POMPEIUS PLANTA, the præfect of *Ægypt*.

From
Agrippina
in the Lower
Germany.
A. U. C.
850.
TRAJAN.
1.

EPISTLE VII.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

WORDS, Sir, cannot express the joy, with which your letter has affected me, since I find by it, that you have granted the freedom of *Alexandria* to my physician HARPOCRAS; although, according to the rule of your predecessors, you had resolved not to confer such gifts without long deliberation. I must inform you, that HARPOCRAS is of the province of *Memphis*. Let me therefore entreat you, my most indulgent royal master, to send me, as you promised, a letter to POMPEIUS PLANTA, the præfect of *Ægypt*, your friend.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
851.
TRAJAN.
2.

As I wish, Sir, for the pleasure of seeing you as soon as possibly I can, you will permit me to meet you on the road, at as great a distance as I can reach. Farewell.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

Iatralipten adsumpsi^a. The *iatraliptæ* were not regular physicians: they applied outward applications, and anointed their patients in a particular manner. CELSUS shews the difference between the *medicus* and the *iatralipta*, where he says, *Sanus homo, qui et bene valet, et suæ spontis est, nullis obligare se legibus debet, ac neque medico, neque iatralipta egere*: “A man, who is in health, and is at his own liberty, need not confine himself to any particular habit of life; nor does he want either the *medicus*, or the *iatralipta*.” The word *ἰατρᾱλείπτης* is composed of *ἰατρὸς* *medicus*, and *αλείπτης*^b *unctor*. The antient physicians indeed practised both physic and surgery, but were established long before the time of PLINY, in a more uniform and regular method; and those persons, who professed the cure of particular diseases, were esteemed then, as they are now, empirics.

Des ei civitatem Romanam: “Be pleased to make him a freedman of Rome.” The *civitas Romana* was more or less extensive, according to the manner, in which it was bestowed. Foreigners, or persons not living within the city, and territories of Rome, frequently enjoyed it under certain limitations. They were incorporated into the city tribes; but although they were entitled to give their suffrages, they were debarred from offering themselves as candidates for any of the state-employments. The request of PLINY therefore, in favour of HARPOCRAS, seems perfectly well judged; for at the same time, that the profession of a physician rendered him incapable to attend the duties of a public office, the power of giving his vote in the *comitia* was at once a desirable, and an advantageous privilege. The honour of the *civitas Romana*, when bestowed without any reserve, was very extensive, and entitled the citizens, who enjoyed it, not only to the highest magistracies, but to all sorts of public rights and distinctions.

^a Epistle 4.

^b The *aliptæ* were attendants at the baths: they anointed such persons, who were healthy, and who only used oily applications either to make their limbs pliable; or to hinder too profuse a perspiration.

Des jus Quiritium libertis ANTONIÆ MAXIMILLÆ: “ I wish you to confer the rights of citizens upon the freed-women of ANTONIA MAXIMILLA.” The *jus Quiritium* was the fundamental settlement, that guided private property, and regulated particular persons in their rights. By the *jus Quiritium*, the citizens were ascertained in their inheritances. The difference between the two privileges mentioned, and requested in this letter, is pointed out by one of the commentators, where he says, *Viri docti hæc ita discernunt, ut jus Quiritium privatum civium jus, civitas autem publicum jus complectatur.*

Quod a te, petente patrona, peto: “ I make you this request by the desire of their patron.” By the Roman constitution, the *patronus* still retained a power over the *libertus*. Before the ceremony of manumission, he was the absolute master of a slave; and after the gift of enfranchisement, he became the *patron* of a *freedman*: his right of patron commenced, as soon as his authority of master expired. But, the *jus Quiritium* effectually established the freedman in a state of liberty, and allowed him the entire disposal of his own estate; an inheritance, to which his patron, by the law of the twelve tables, was entitled, if the freedman died intestate, or left no lawful issue, born after the time of his enfranchisement. It was equitable therefore, that the *jus Quiritium* ought not to be granted, except at the intercession of the *patronus*; and we shall find, that whenever PLINY recommends a petition of this kind to the emperor, he gives assurances, that the request comes originally from the patron of the person, whom he recommends.

The answer from TRAJAN to PLINY on this occasion is lost. But the epistle ^a, which ought immediately to have followed that answer, mentions a certain previous privilege, requisite to be obtained by the *Ægyptians*, before they could be entitled to the *civitas Romana*. The words are, *Admonitus sum a peritioribus, debuisse me, ei [HARPOCRATI] ante Alexandrinam civitatem impetrare, deinde Romanam, quoniam esset Ægyptius*: “ Persons of more experience than myself inform me, that HARPOCRATES, as a native of *Ægypt*, must procure the freedom of *Alexandria*, before he can be legally entitled to the freedom of *Rome*.” In what manner this privilege had been granted to the *Alexandrians*, or

^a Ep. 5. In the edition of LONGOLIUS 22.

whether it was intended as an honour, or a restraint upon the *Ægyptians*, cannot be discovered at this distance of time. Such a necessary qualification towards the *civitas Romana*, so entirely unknown even to PLINY himself, is a surprising and regretful circumstance, and is one of the many instances to convince us, how deficient our knowledge must remain in various branches of the *Roman* constitution.

Rogo ergo, indulgentissime imperator, ut mihi ad POMPEIUM PLANTAM præfectum Ægypti, amicum tuum, &c. "I ask
 " you therefore, most indulgent emperor, that you would
 " write to your friend POMPEIUS PLANTA, the præfect of
 " *Ægypt*." The several countries, which had been conquered by the *Romans*, were governed either by a *proconsul*, a *proprætor*, or a *præfectus*. Those which were governed by the two former, were called *provinciae*. Those which were governed by a *præfectus*, were termed *præfecturæ*^b, and these last were generally such places, as had incurred the displeasure and suspicion of the *Roman* state. The *præfectus Ægypti*^c was never continued longer than one year in his government: and when he went from *Rome*, was obliged to leave his children with the emperor, as a security for his own fidelity and behaviour. So great a degree of caution in the government of *Ægypt*, may incline us to imagine, that the *civitas Alexandrina* was meant rather as an impediment, than a step of honour to the *civitas Romana*. *Ægypt*, immediately after the death of CLEOPATRA, was reduced to a *Roman* province, by AUGUSTUS, who was particularly strict in restraining persons of power and distinction, from travelling out of curiosity, without some necessary avocation into that country. "He looked upon *Ægypt*, says TACITUS^d,
 " as the key to *Italy*, both by sea and land: and imagined,
 " that if it were once seized, it could not easily be recovered,
 " being so situated, as to defend itself with a very small
 " number of men, against a very numerous army." PLINY, in his panegyric^e, calls the *Ægyptians ventosa et insolens natio*: "A vain-glorious and insolent people:" and from ex-

^b The inhabitants of the *provinciae præfecturæ* were divested of their own laws, and were entirely subjected to the laws, customs, and magistracy of *Rome*.

^c In the reign of AUGUSTUS, the officer sent to govern *Ægypt* was called *præfectus Augustalis*.

^d *Annal. lib. 2. cap. 59.*

^e *Cap. 31.*

pressions in several other antient writers, we may conclude, that a constant jealousy was maintained between the two nations: so that the *Roman* emperors, from a motive of policy and restriction, continued to govern *Ægypt* by a præfect, and constantly to chuse an officer for that trust, in whose allegiance and integrity they might confide. Such was POMPEIUS PLANTA, whom PLINY dignifies in this epistle, by the title of TRAJAN's friend; and the emperor, in his answer, confirms the application.

Tu, ex quo nomo sit, notum mihi facere debebis^f: “ You “ should let me know of what nome HARPOCRATES is a native.” *Ægypt* was divided into *nomes*. *Dividitur in præfecturas oppidorum, quas nomos vocant*^g: It is divided into “ districts of towns, which they call *nomos*:” and thus we find the septuagint translation of the bible: Πόλις ἐπὶ πόλιν, καὶ νομὸς ἐπὶ νομόν^h. “ City against city, and nome against “ nome.” These *nomes* were in some degree answerable to the division of our counties. The middle *Ægypt* was particularly called *Heptanomis*, from the seven districts, which it originally contained. PLINY, in answer to TRAJAN's question, lets him know, that HARPOCRATES was [νομῷ Μεμφολίῳ] of the province belonging to *Memphis*, which seems to have been an honourable circumstance in favour of HARPOCRATES; as *Memphis* was once the capital of *Ægypt*, and in the days of PLINY, a most flourishing and opulent city. The situation of it, Doctor Pocock tells us, cannot be ascertained; nor are the least remains of it at this day to be seenⁱ. *Etiam periere ruinæ*.

^f Ep. 23. *Editio* LONGOII.

^g PLINII *Natur. Hist.* lib. 5. cap. 9.

^h Ησαίας, Κεφ. xix. 2. ISAIAH's prophecy of confusion, and dissension in *Ægypt*.

ⁱ See Doctor Pocock's description of the East. Vol. I. ch. 5.

E P I S T L E VIII.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

AS soon, Sir, as your august father, by a very fine oration, and by his own eminent example, had exhorted all his subjects to particular acts of gene-
From Rome.
A. U. C.
851.
TRAJAN.
2.

rosity, I delivered to him a petition, " that I might place in a municipal city a collection of statues, belonging to me, of former emperors, and that I might add to them a statue of himself." The collection fell into my possession by inheritance, and the statues are upon various parts of my most distant estate. He was pleased to indulge me with his entire approbation, and I immediately wrote to the Decurions, to chuse out a piece of ground, upon which I might build a temple, at my own expence. Those magistrates, in honour of the intended work, absolutely left to me the choice of the ground. But first, my own illness, then, the illness of your father, and lately, the necessary attendance upon the employment, in which you have placed me, have hindered any progress in that undertaking. At this time, I think it may be particularly convenient to me to complete the whole design, my month of attendance ending on the first of September, and the next month having in it many holydays. Permit me therefore, before all other considerations, to place your statue, as the chief ornament of a structure, which I am impatient to begin: and, that the edifice may be finished in the most expeditious manner, I must entreat your leave of absence. But the sincerity, which I constantly practise toward you, will not suffer me to impose upon your goodness, by concealing from you the advantages, that must accrue upon this occasion, to my own private affairs. My estate in that country amounts to upwards of four hundred thousand sesterces^a. I must set it without delay, that the new tenant may enjoy the crop of the ensuing vintage. Besides, by a succession of unfruitful seasons, I am under a necessity of granting some abatements; and such concessions can only be made by myself, while I am upon the spot. I shall owe therefore, Sir, to your indulgence, the expedition of a work of piety, and the settlement of

^a Equal to 3229 l. 3 s. 4 d.

my own private fortune, if upon both these accounts you permit me to be absent thirty days. Nor can my business be concluded in a shorter space of time, since both the city, and the estate, which I have mentioned, are beyond the hundred and fiftieth mile-stone from *Rome*.

E P I S T L E IX.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

YOU have given every private, and every public reason for asking leave of absence: but to me even your own inclination would have been sufficient. Nor can I doubt, that as soon as possible, you will return to an employment, that requires your attendance.

From
Agrippina,
or some
other city in
the *Lower*
Germany.
A. U. C.
851.
TRAJAN.
2.

Lest I might seem to stop the current of your affection, by hindering you from putting up my statue, in the place where you desire, I submit to your request, although I am averse to all honours of that kind.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

As *TRAJAN* certainly did not return to *Rome*, till the year eight hundred and fifty one, in the consulship of *SOSSIUS SENECIO*, and *A. CORNELIUS PALMA*; and as *PLINY* was probably impatient to shew the earliest marks of devotion to his imperial master, by erecting, as soon as possible, a statue of the emperor at *Tifernum Tiberinum*, the epistle upon this subject may reasonably be supposed to have been written in this year. The place, from whence the emperor dated his answer, cannot be so easily ascertained: but we may conjecture, that he was still in *Germany*. His answer to *PLINY*'s request is extremely kind, and discovers not only a greatness of spirit, in resolving to refuse all ostentatious honours, but an uncommon affection to *PLINY*, in breaking through that resolution.

EPISTLE X.

PLINY to TRAJAN,

From *Rome*.
A. U. C.
851.
TRAJAN.
2.

AS soon, Sir, as by your great indulgence, I was raised to be præfect of the treasury of *Saturn*, that I might entirely devote myself to the particular duty of my office, I renounced the employment of an advocate, which indeed, I had never exercised in a promiscuous manner. And from the same reason, when the provincials entreated me to undertake their cause against *MARIUS PRISCUS*, I asked, and I obtained leave to be excused. But when the consul elect declared his opinion, that we, who had been excused, ought not only to decline our privilege on this occasion, but to submit to the power of the senate, and suffer our names to be thrown into the urn; I then thought it perfectly agreeable to that unanimity, which distinguishes your reign, not to oppose that illustrious assembly, especially in so mild an instance of their power. I wish that my obedience, in this point, may meet with your approbation, as I ardently desire, that all my words and actions may be conformable to the excellent rules, which you practise.

EPISTLE XI.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From
Agrippina,
or some
other city in
the *Lower*
Germany.
A. U. C.
851.
TRAJAN.
2.

YOU have acted the part of a good citizen, and a good senator, by your obedience to the senate, in an instance, where it was most justly required: nor have I the least doubt, that you will act the same part in the employment, which you have undertaken.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

PLINY was now in his second year, as *præfectus ærarii*. All payments to be exhibited by the state, particularly the expences necessary for the maintenance of the naval and military force, the reception of ambassadors, the public buildings, the games, the triumphs, and ovations, were disbursed out of the treasury of Saturn. The *præfecti ærarii* were three in number: of which two were always required to attend, and the third could not be longer absent than a month, as may be gathered from PLINY's expression in the eighth epistle. *Nam et menstruum meum calend. Septembris finitur, et sequens mensis complures dies feriatos habet*¹: "For my month of attendance ends the first of September, and the next month is full of festivals." The scholiast upon this is mistaken, where he says, that CORNUTUS TERTULLUS was the only colleague with PLINY in the treasury, and that each of the commissioners attended monthly in his office: but the commentator forgets, that in the fourth epistle of the third book, PLINY mentioning the particulars relating to the trial of CLASSICUS, expressly says to MACRINUS, *Collegæ optimi, meique amantiissimi de communis officii necessitatibus prælocuti, excusare me, et eximere tentarunt*^m: "My very worthy colleagues, who were also my particular friends, having spoken of the exigencies of our common employment, endeavoured to excuse and exempt my attendance." From DION CASSIUSⁿ we know the exact number of these officers, as settled by AUGUSTUS; and there are not any grounds to imagine, that the number was diminished by succeeding emperors.

The date of this letter may very nearly be ascertained. PLINY tells ARRIANUS, in the eleventh epistle of the second book, that PRISCUS was tried in January, when the emperor was consul, and presided in the senate^o. This epistle, therefore, must have been written in the preceding year, before the emperor's return from Germany, and after PLINY had made his excursion into Tuscany, where he staid all

¹ Editio LONGOLII. Ep. 24. pag. 735.

^m Ibid. Pag. 188.

ⁿ Lib. 55. A. U. C. 759.

^o *Princeps præsidebat (erat enim consul) ad hoc Januarius mensis,*
&c.

the month of September : and from hence again we may be assured, that the emperor's arrival at *Rome*, after his succession, was very late in the year eight hundred and fifty one.

EPISTLE XII.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From *Rome*.
A. U. C.
853.
TRAJAN.
4.

THE strict friendship between me and ROSIANUS GEMINUS has arisen, Sir, from the favours, which you have bestowed upon me. When I was consul, he was my quæstor, and I found him perfectly devoted to me. Since the expiration of my consulship, he has shewn so peculiar a respect towards me, that my public obligations to him have been much accumulated by private instances of friendship. I entreat, that he may be dignified at my intercession ; for certainly, if you rely upon my opinion, you will shew him uncommon marks of distinction. He will so far assist his own interest, that in all instances of your commands, his behaviour will still entitle him to a greater degree of your confidence. I shall be less lavish in his praises, because, I hope he has already convinced you of his integrity, his probity, and his diligence, not only in the several state-employments, which he has enjoyed under your own eye at *Rome*, but in the capacity of a soldier in your army. However, I must mention again and again the particular subject of my request, which, perhaps, I have not yet sufficiently enforced ; at least, so my affection assures me. I beseech you, Sir, to grant to him, as soon as possible, some post of dignity, that in the person of my quæstor, I may rejoice at the increase of my own honours.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

TRAJAN did not go out of *Italy*, and in all probability resided at *Rome*, during the year eight hundred and fifty two. No letters appear to have passed between him and PLINY that year. This epistle, in favour of ROSIANUS GEMINUS, is dated therefore in the ensuing year, being written, as may be conjectured, while the emperor was in *Dacia*, at the head of an army, in which GEMINUS had already distinguished himself as an officer.

PLINY, by the zeal of his friendship to GEMINUS, is led into a needless repetition, where he says, *Rogo ergo, ut ipsi apud te pro dignitate ejus precibus meis faveas: cui et, si quid mihi credis, indulgentiam tuam dabis.* But his excuse afterwards might even make a more tedious tautology agreeable. *Illud unum quod propter charitatem ejus nondum mihi videor satis plene fecisse.* PLINY's heart is not only filled, but overflows with affection towards all his friends.

EPISTLE XIII.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

ALTHOUGH I am sensible, Sir, that my sollicitations have not escaped your memory, which faithfully retains every humane impression; yet, as you have often indulged me in this manner, give me leave to remind, and earnestly entreat you, to bestow the prætorship upon ACCIUS SURA, whenever that place shall become vacant. Although he can live in quiet expectation of the event; yet the splendour of his birth, and his constant integrity, during the frowns of fortune, and, above all other causes, the happiness of these times, wherein the uprightness of your citizens is a title to your favour, appear as so many incitements, to hasten and raise him to this honour. Farewell.

From the
Tuscan villa.
A. U. C.
854.
TRAJAN.
5.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

By the expression, *natalium splendor*, ACCIUS SURA is distinguished, in this epistle, as a man of a noble family. The scholiast CATANÆUS mentions several *Romans* of his name, and among them, LICINIUS SURA^P, who was consul the ensuing year; and whom DION CASSIUS describes as remarkably rich, and in high favour with the emperor TRAJAN.

PLINY, who generally passed part of the summer at his *Tuscan villa*, may be supposed to have written this letter from thence, in consequence of a personal conversation between the emperor and him at *Rome*, wherein he had obtained from his imperial master a promise of the prætorship for ACCIUS SURA. The prætors were next in dignity, and gradual succession, to the consuls.

^P The 30th epistle of the 4th book, and the 27th epistle of the 7th book, are addressed to him. By both those letters, and by the 46th epigram of the 7th book of MARTIAL, he appears to have been a man of learning.

EPISTLE XIV.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From *Rome*.
A. U. C.
855.
TRAJAN.
6.

I Congratulate you, Sir, and I congratulate the commonwealth upon your victory; of all your conquests the greatest, the most complete, and the most memorable. May heaven grant such happy events to your future enterprises, that the empire, from your many virtues, may find itself restored, and augmented to the highest degree of its former glory.

OBSERVATIONS.

TRAJAN, after having obtained a triumph for his late success over the *Daci*, remained, during the year eight hundred and fifty four, in *Italy*, from whence he was soon recalled
by

by the perfidious behaviour of DECEBALUS. The emperor arrived in *Dacia* early in the year fifty five, and his conquests there were more rapid and compleat, than they had ever been in his former expedition. This epistle is written upon that memorable occasion, *Victoriæ tuæ, optime imp. maximæ, pulcherrimæ, antiquissimæ, &c.* From the expression *antiquissimæ*, we may observe, in how great veneration the antient glory of *Rome* was esteemed at that time. PLINY rises in his epithets, and places that particular word, so as to appear the highest and most consummate term of speech, that could give an adequate idea of TRAJAN's victory.

EPISTLE XV.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

AS I am convinced, Sir, that nothing can tend so effectually to the approbation and praise of my conduct, as to receive marks of distinction from so excellent a prince, I humbly entreat you, to add to the dignity, which I have already received from your favour, the office either of augur, or of septemvir; (those offices being now vacant) that I may never fail to pray for you publicly in my sacerdotal right, as you are at present the constant object of my private devotion.

From *Rome*.
A. U. C.
855.
TRAJAN.
6.

OBSERVATIONS.

The college of augurs consisted of fifteen priests; the eldest of whom presided over the rest: he was called *Magister collegii*. Upon the death of any one of these priests, the person, who offered himself as a candidate, was to be recommended by two of the collegians to the rest of the fraternity, who, if they thought proper, chose him into their society. This method had been established from the time of the consular state¹, till it was interrupted by JULIUS CÆSAR, who transferred the power of election to the people, and by the popular suffrages and authority, was chosen

¹ The augurs were originally chosen by the kings.

high-priest

high-priest [*pontifex maximus*] in the room of METELLUS^r: but upon the death of CÆSAR, the right of election again devolved to the augurs themselves, and remained among them, (except an interruption by M. ANTONY, in favour of ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS) till the reign of AUGUSTUS, when it was given up, and established ever afterwards in the emperors. TRAJAN complied with PLINY's request, and appointed him augur in the room of SEXTUS JULIUS FRONTINUS.

The *septemviri* were priests appointed to govern and overlook the feasts and entertainments on holy-days; from whence they were more properly called *epulones*. They were originally three in number, and afterwards seven^f.

^r See PLUTARCH's life of JULIUS CÆSAR.

^f Vide ALEX. ab ALEXANDRO *geniales dies*. Vol. I. lib. 3. cap. 16.

EPISTLE XVI.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From
Ephesus.
A. U. C.
855.
TRAJAN.
6.

SINCE I may presume to think, Sir, that my voyage engages your sollicitude, I inform you, that having failed safely beyond the promontory *Malea*, I am arrived with all my retinue at *Ephesus*, although I was detained for some time by contrary winds. I now intend to go forward to my province, partly in small ships, that sail close to the shore, and partly in land-carriages. For, as the excessive heats are troublesome by land, so the continued Etesian winds oppose a voyage by sea.

EPISTLE XVII.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
855.
TRAJAN.
6.

YOUR information is very acceptable, my dearest SECUNDUS. The manner, in which you pursue your journey to your province, is a point, that I have

have very much at heart. You act prudently, in resolving to make use either of ships, or land-carriages, as the several places may require.

OBSERVATIONS.

Malea is a promontory^t of *Peloponnesus*, in the most southern part of *Laconia*. The sea near it is very outrageous.

Et raucae circumtonat ira Maleæ^u.

“ And hoarse *Malea*’s billows thunder round.”

According to STRABO, the danger of this promontory was proverbial. “ In doubling the cape *Malea*, a man must forget his friends and family.” PLINY therefore informs the emperor, that he passed safely into the *Archipelago*, and was arrived at *Ephesus*, with no other ill accidents, except a delay by contrary winds. *Ephesus* was the capital of *Ionis*, and one of the principal maritime towns in *Asia*. PLINY the elder, in mentioning this city, calls it *alterum Asiae lumen*^w; “ another eye of *Asia* ;” and distinguishes the temple of *Diana*, as *magnificentiae vera admiratio*: “ the true wonder of magnificence.” St. PAUL has a beautiful allusion to this temple, when writing to the Christians at *Ephesus*, who, he apprehends, may be seduced by the outward magnificence of the great *Diana* of the *Ephesians*, he turns their attention to the spiritual temple of JESUS CHRIST, by saying, *Now therefore, ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of GOD; and are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, JESUS CHRIST himself being the chief corner-stone: In whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the LORD. In whom you also are builded together for an habitation of GOD through the spirit*^x.

But however magnificent the temple, or however splendid the city may have been, the former was reduced to ashes by the wild ambition of a madman; and the latter has

^t Now called *Capo Malio di santo Angelo*.

^u STATII, lib. 7.

^w PLINII Natur. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 29.

^x EPHESIANS, chap. ii. v. 19.

mouldered

mouldered into a small village, inhabited by some few Greek families, who live in poverty and ignorance, amidst the ruins of the place. The village is called *Ajasalouch*, and belongs to the *Turks*.

Nunc destino, partim orariis navibus, &c. The *naves orariæ* are sometimes termed *amnicæ naves*, "river vessels:" And sometimes *trabariæ*, and *littorariæ*, "shore-ships, or "bylanders." They were of great convenience, not only as small coasters, but to sail from island to island in the *Ægean* sea.

Continuæ navigationi Etesiæ reluctantur. The Etesian winds are annual^y, and blow from the north. *LUCRETIVS* supposes them to be the natural cause, which occasions the Nile to overflow, and the inundation of it to continue.

*Nilus in æstati crescit, campisque redundat
Unicus in terris Ægypti totius annis.
Is rigat Ægyptum medium per sæpe calorem,
Aut quia sunt ætate aquilones ostia contra
Anni tempore eo, quo Etesia flabra feruntur;
Et contra fluvium flantes remorantur, et undas
Cogentes fursum replent, coguntque manere^z.*

" The Nile in summer swells, and o'er the plains
" (Sole river of great Ægypt's wide domains)
" Redundant flows, with unresisted course,
" When Sirius' baleful beams exert their force;
" For, those returning winds, which summer brings,
" Against it's sev'n mouth'd ports oppose their wings:
" The season, when Etesian blasts are heard,
" Which the wild flood's impetuous rage retard,
" Repress the waves, and as imprison'd guard." }

^y They were called Etesian; from the Greek word ἔτος, a year.

^z *LUCRET.* lib. 6. v. 712.

EPISTLE XVIII.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

I Had a very good passage by sea, as far as *Ephe-* From the city of Prusias, or Prusa, at the foot of mount Olympus, in Bithynia. A. U. C. 855. TRAJAN. 6.
sus, but when I attempted to pursue my journey from thence in land-carriages, I was obliged to rest some time at *Pergamus*, being stopped by the excessive heats, and by some slight fits of a fever. Afterwards, when I went forward in small coasting vessels, I was detained by contrary winds; so that I did not arrive in *Bithynia*, till the seventeenth of September, which was later than I expected. However, I cannot complain of the delay, since it happened so auspiciously, as to suffer me to celebrate your birth-day in the province.

At present, I am employed in examining the public expences, revenues, and debts of the *Prusenses*: and the farther I proceed in my examination, the more necessary I find it: for various sums of money, under various pretences, are detained in the hands of particular persons, and several illegal demands are made upon the state.

These hints, Sir, I have written to you at my very first entrance upon business. At my arrival here on the seventeenth of September, I found the province full of that duty and attachment to you, which you deserve from all the world.

Consider, Sir, whether you may not think it proper, to send hither a surveyor: for I believe, if a faithful measurement were made, we might possibly recall large sums of money from the undertakers of the public works: at least, so it appears to me, from the view of the accounts, examined by *MAXIMUS* and me together, and brought in by the *Prusenses* themselves.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XIX.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From Rome:
A. U. C.
855.
TRAJAN.
6.

IF my wishes had prevailed, you and your retinue must have arrived, without the least complaint, in *Bitthynia*; and your journey from *Ephesus* must have been as prosperous, as your sea voyage thither.

I find by your letter, my dearest SECUNDUS, the exact day of your arrival in *Bitthynia*: the inhabitants of that province, I believe, will think, that I have them most particularly in my thoughts. For by your conduct, they will be convinced, that I could not have substituted a more proper representative.

The examination of the public accounts ought certainly to be your first employment, as they appear in great disorder.

I have scarce a sufficient number of surveyors to carry on the public works in *Rome*, and in the neighbourhood of it; but no province is deficient of such artificers, as are men, upon whom you may safely rely: and therefore, if you search diligently, you cannot fail to find them.

OBSERVATIONS

Pergami substiti. The city of *Pergamus* lay exactly in PLINY's road by land to *Nicomedia*, the metropolis of *Bitthynia*. One of the commentators^a, imagines *Pergamus* to be in the same place, where *Ilion*, the antient *Troy*, was situated. But he is entirely mistaken. *Troy* was placed upon the river *Simois*, not far from the shore of the *Ægean* sea. *Pergamus* stood on a spacious plain, on the banks of the *Caicus*; a river often mentioned by the classic authors.

^a RITTERSHUSIUS.

Troy was never rebuilt^b. The mistake of the commentator probably arose from the word *Pergama*, which sometimes in *VIRGIL* signifies the city, and region of *Troy*, as

Pergama cum peteret, inconcessosque hymenæos ^c:

“ When she came

“ To ruin *Troy*, and set the world in flame^d.

SERVIVS, in a note, explains this passage, by saying, *Pergama propriè sunt Trojanæ arces: unde κατ' ἐξοχὴν omnes arces Pergama dicuntur*.

From *Pergamus* ^e, *PLINY* proceeded to *Prusa*, a city upon the river *Rhyndacus*, and at the bottom of the mountain *Olympus*, as *PLINY* himself mentions in the twenty third epistle. This situation distinguishes it from *Prusa*, a maritime town of the *Pontus Euxinus*, and near *Nicomedia*; but at a considerable distance from that chain of mountains in *Asia*, which seem like so many lesser steps to one principal and gigantic hill, called *Olympus*.

^b *AUGUSTUS* had some thoughts of rebuilding *Troy*, which occasioned the famous ode in *HORACE*, beginning, *Iustum et tenacem*: where the poet makes *JUNO*, in an assembly of the Gods, declare,

Ter si resurgat murus aeneus
Auctore PHOEBO; ter pereat meis
Excisus argivis; ter uxor
Capta virum puerosque ploret ^{*}.

“ Thrice should *APOLLO* raise her wall,

“ Thrice should her brazen bulwarks fall,

“ Thrice should her matrons feel the victor's chain,

“ Deplore their slaughter'd sons, deplore their husbands slain[†].”

^c *VIRGIL*. lib. 1. v. 655.

^d *DRYDEN*.

^e *Pergamus* was reduced to a prætorian province in the year six hundred and twenty four, by the consul *MANIUS AQUILLIUS NEPOS*.

^{*} *HORAT*. ode 3. lib. 3.

[†] *MR. FRANCIS*.

EPISTLE XX.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From *Prusa*,
at the foot
of mount
Olympus, in
Bithynia.
A. U. C.
855.
TRAJAN.
6.

WHEN I cited the judges, Sir, with an intention to have a complete assembly, FLAVIUS ARCHIPPUS asked leave to be excused, as he was a philosopher. I found some persons of opinion, that he ought, not only to be excused from sitting as a judge, but to be struck out of the list of judges, and to be delivered over to the punishment, which he had evaded, by breaking prison. The sentence of the proconsul VELIUS PAULUS was read; by which ARCHIPPUS was condemned to the mines for forgery. In his reply, he produced no repeal to this sentence. But, in plea of his restitution, he offered a petition formerly given to DOMITIAN, and to which the emperor had made such an answer, as appeared much in honour to ARCHIPPUS. He also produced a decree to the same purpose, made by the *Prusenses*. To these he added a letter written to him by yourself, together with an edict, and a letter from your father [NERVA] confirming all the kindness of DOMITIAN.

I have thought it proper therefore, although the punishments of such crimes are fully ascertained, not to proceed, until I receive your decision.

I have enclosed in this letter the several arguments offered on both sides.

The Epistle of DOMITIAN to TERENCE
MAXIMUS.

FLAVIUS ARCHIPPUS, the philosopher, has entreated me, that I would order a quantity of land, amounting to six hundred thousand sesterces,

sesterces^f, to be bought for him in the neighbourhood of *Prusa*, his own country. I am determined to grant his request. Let the whole expence be placed to my account, as a gift from me.

^f Equal to 4843 *l.* 15 *s.* 0 *d.*

The Epistle of DOMITIAN to L. APPIUS
MAXIMUS.

I Recommend to you, my dear MAXIMUS, a man of worth, entirely equal to the greatest men of his profession, ARCHIPPUS the philosopher. Give him your countenance in as full a manner, as he can honourably desire from you.

The Edict of NERVA.

ROMANS,

THE happiness of the times is such, that certain maxims of government are known beyond a possibility of doubt: nor is it necessary, that a prince, who, in general, pursues the welfare of his people, should explain himself, upon particular points, which are sufficiently understood. Every citizen can answer for me, that I have preferred the public safety to my own private repose; and that I have been always desirous to confer new benefits, and to confirm all such, as have been granted before my reign. However, lest the fears of those, who obtained benefits, or the memory of the person, who granted them, may be circumstances to interrupt the public felicity, I imagine it will be no less acceptable, than necessary, to obviate all uneasiness, by an instance of indulgence, which proceeds from myself.

If any man has obtained a private, or a public privilege, from one of the former emperors, let him not imagine, he is to be deprived of such a privilege, merely that he may owe the re-establishment and confirmation of it to me. Neither will I receive thanks for petitions long since confirmed. Let those, who have not yet received any marks of my bounty, wait till fortune, which seems to have distinguished me most kindly from my predecessors, shall allow me to dispense my rewards. Lastly, let me never be solicited for favours already granted.

The Epistle of NERVA to TULLIUS JUSTUS.

SINCE I have positively decreed, that all acts, begun and accomplished in former reigns, should be confirmed, the letters of DOMITIAN must remain valid.

EPISTLE XXI.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From *Prusa*,
at the foot
of mount
Olympus, in
Bitthynia.

A. U. C.

855.

TRAJAN.

6.

FLAVIUS ARCHIPPUS has conjured me, by your sacred name, and by your immortal glory, that I would transmit to you a petition, which he gave me. From his manner of making the request, I thought proper to comply with it, resolving still to let you know the name of the woman, who accused him. She also delivered in a petition to me, which I send with these letters; by which means, you will be able to judge, and fix your determination in the same manner, as if you had heard both parties.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XXII.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

DOMITIAN, at the time when he wrote such From Rome.
A. U. C.
855.
TRAJAN.
6. favourable letters, might probably be ignorant of the true circumstances of ARCHIPPUS: but it is more consistent with my turn of thinking, to suppose that prince voluntarily inclined, by his own interposition, to restore him to his former situation: especially, as so many statues were erected in honour of ARCHIPPUS, by persons, who must know the decree pronounced against him by PAULUS the proconsul. But these sentiments, my dearest SECUNDUS, as they relate only to that particular fact, are not to hinder you from bringing him to a trial, if any new crime is objected against him.

I have read the petitions, which you sent with your last letter of ARCHIPPUS himself, and of FURIA the elder^e, who accused him.

^e FURIA PRIMA. The word *prima* here signifies the elder of several sisters. Vide LIPSIUM, *de nominibus Romanorum*. Tract. 4. cap. 3.

EPISTLE XXIII.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

WHILE I stayed, Sir, in the city of *Prusa*, at From Nicea.
A. U. C.
855.
TRAJAN.
6. the foot of mount *Olympus*, and was finishing, at my own lodgings, some affairs relating to the public, having determined to leave that city on the same day, I was told by ASCLEPIADES, one of the magistrates, that CLAUDIUS EUMOLPUS had made an appeal to me against COCCIANUS DION, who was appointed, in the senate, the supervisor of a public work. EUMOLPUS, who was advocate for FLAVIUS

ARCHIPPUS, affirmed, that DION ought to give in an exact account of that work, before the payment of it was assigned by the republic; insinuating, that DION had not acted as he ought to have done. He added farther, that your statue had been placed, where the bodies of DION's wife and son were buried; and he required me to take cognizance of this affair, in my public capacity. As soon as I appeared willing to proceed immediately to the enquiry, and declared, that I would postpone my journey for that purpose; he then desired, that I would allow a longer time for the preparation of the cause itself, and would hear it in some other city. I answered, that I would hear it at *Nicea*, where, when I had taken my seat, the same EUMOLPUS, as if his instructions had not been yet sufficiently perfect, began to petition for a farther adjournment. DION, on the other side, insisted upon an immediate hearing. In this dispute many circumstances arose, that related to the chief points. But when I found, that an affair of this kind was likely to be established into a precedent, I thought delay and deliberation were absolutely necessary, and therefore ordered each party to prepare for me a state of their different demands, in writing; being desirous, that you should know their several allegations, as far as possible, in their own words. DION said, that he would immediately obey me; and EUMOLPUS answered, that he would draw up such a state of the case, as should contain the pretensions of the republic.

But, as to what related to the persons buried, EUMOLPUS alledged, he was not the accuser, but the advocate of FLAVIUS ARCHIPPUS, whose commands he had obeyed. ARCHIPPUS, for whom EUMOLPUS had pleaded in the same manner here, as at *Prusa*, said, that he would deliver in a memorial: but neither EUMOLPUS nor ARCHIPPUS, although I have waited several days, have yet given in the state of their case: DION has, which I have annexed to this

this letter. I have been upon the spot, and I saw your statue placed in the library. The edifice, in which the wife and son of DION are said to be buried, stands within a court surrounded by galleries.

I beseech you, Sir, vouchsafe to direct me in the nice point of giving my judgement on this particular affair. All eyes are upon me, as indeed it is unavoidable, when facts are publicly avowed on each side, and supported by precedents.

EPISTLE XXIV.

(PLINY to TRAJAN.)

YOU need not have hesitated, my dearest SE-
CUNDUS, upon the point, in which you con-
sulted me, as you perfectly well know, that I am
determined in my resolution, not to extort a reve-
rence to my name, by putting my subjects into dread
and terrors; or by encouraging accusations of high
treason. That question therefore is fully answered;
nor will I suffer it to be debated, although precedents
may be produced to support it.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
855.
TRAJAN.
6.

Let the estimate of the whole work, done under the direction of COCCIANUS DION, be thoroughly examined. As the public good is concerned, DION neither can, nor ought to refuse such an examination.

OBSERVATIONS.

The foregoing epistles all relate to FLAVIUS ARCHIPPUS, a philosopher. The twentieth and twenty first are written from *Prusa*; the twenty third from *Nicea*, a large city at a small distance eastward of *Prusa*. It is called by the *Turks*, *Nichor*; and is rendered particularly famous by the first general council held there in the reign of CONSTANTINE the Great, in the year of CHRIST three hundred and twenty five; at which were present, not only the emperor himself,

but three hundred and eighteen bishops, and ARIUS, upon whose account, and against whose heresies, the council ^s had been called.

The edict of NERVA is curious, and shews a generous turn of mind: but the answer of TRAJAN is truly noble; and discovers a spirit of the highest virtue, and the soundest judgement: and indeed, the whole collection of his letters is the most exalted panegyric, that can either be devised, or pronounced in his commendation.

Nicea is called by STRABO, *primaria Bithyniæ urbs*: "the metropolis of *Bithynia*." Probably from a medal of DOMITIAN, the reverse of which bears this legend, ΝΙΚΑΙΟΙ. ΠΡΩΤΟΙ. ΤΗΣ. ΕΠΑΡΧΙΑΣ. "*Nicenses primi provinciae*." In the area is an altar with this inscription, ΔΙΟΚ. ΑΓΑΡΑΙΟΥ. *Jovi qui fori custos*." Signifying, that the *Niceans* were the first people of the province, who had offered up vows to JUPITER, for the health and safety of DOMITIAN. It is certain, that in PLINY's time *Nicomedia* was the capital of *Bithynia*.

^s At that time, and in that council was settled the Nicene Creed.

EPISTLE XXV.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From Nicea.
A. U. C.
855.
TRAJAN.
6.

I Served in the army, Sir, at the time when NYMPHIDIUS LUPUS was standard-bearer ^b. He commanded a cohort ⁱ when I was a military tribune. In these circumstances our familiarity began: length of time has encreased our friendship. Therefore, I have forced him from his retirement, and have engaged him to give me the advantage of his instructions in *Bithynia*. He has attended me in the most friendly manner, and will stay to assist me, without any regard to his age or tranquillity. These reasons induce me to look upon his relations as my own; especially

^b *Primipilaris*, from *primipilus*, as *consularis* from *consul*,
ⁱ *Præfectus*.

his

his son NYMPHIDIUS LUPUS, a young man of great probity; extremely active, and the worthy offspring of so excellent a father. He will deserve your distinction, as you will be able to judge by his first exploits, when præfect of a cohort^k, which have engaged most ample testimonies in his favour, from JULIUS FEROX, and FUSCUS SALINATOR, men of the brightest characters. I shall feel the joy, Sir, and receive the congratulations of whatever honours are conferred on the son of my friend.

OBSERVATIONS.

The reason for inserting this epistle in this place is from a supposition, that PLINY took the earliest opportunity of recommending to the emperor, the son of NYMPHIDIUS LUPUS.

NYMPHIDIUM LUPUM, *domine, primipilarem*, &c. The *primipilus* was at once an honourable, and a lucrative post. He was standard-bearer, and had an annual stipend allowed him from the state. He carried the chief banner, called the eagle. "For which reason, says LIPSIUS, the word *aquila* " was sometimes made use of, to signify the office of the " *primipilus*^l." He communicated to the army the orders of their general. He presided over the other centurions, and was stiled *primus centurionum*, or *centurio primipili*, which VEGETIUS explains, *qui non solum aquilæ præerat, verum etiam quatuor centurias, hoc est quadringentos milites, in prima acie gubernabat*^m: "An officer, who was not only standard-bearer, but commanded four hundred soldiers of the first " rank in the army." By a verse in JUVENALⁿ, it was

^k Ten cohorts formed a legion.

^l *Quia igitur aquila in primipili tutela, et ei velut assignata, inde manebat, ut aquila pro ipso illo munere et primipilatu usurparetur. Huic muneri non modo dignitas, sed et opes adjunctæ.* LIP. Antiq. Roman. descriptio lib. 2.

^m VEGET. lib. 2. cap. 8.

ⁿ *Ut locupletem aquilam tibi sexagesimus annus adferat.* Sat. xiv. §. 197.

And when in service your best days are spent,
In time you may command a regiment. DRYDEN.

probably

probably late in life, before an officer could arrive at this high post of distinction, to which great experience, many instances of valour, and an approved conduct, must have been necessary qualifications. When the *primipilus* had passed through his station as standard-bearer, and rose to any higher degree in the army, he was called *primipilaris*, and was reputed equal in dignity to the Roman knights.

Cum ipse tribunus essem, ille præfectus. The *præfectus legionis*, which is the præfect here intended, was of a higher rank than the *primipilus*. In the absence of the *legatus*, he presided over the tribunes, the centurions, and all the other officers. The provisions for the army, and the arms, cloaths, and horses of the soldiers, were committed to his care. The military rewards and punishments, the discipline, the *tessera*, or watch-word, were all under his government and decision: so that he not only commanded as an officer, but issued out decrees as a judge, and, by the importance of his situation, was required to distinguish himself, in the manner described by VEGETIUS. *Ipsæ autem custos diligens et sobrius, legionem sibi creditam assiduis operibus ad omnem devotionem, ad omnem formabat industriam:* "But he was a diligent and regular officer. He formed the legion committed to his charge, to every proper sense of duty, and to every kind of industry, by keeping them constantly employed." A character, which undoubtedly was suitable to NYMPHIDIUS LUPUS, whose son had behaved himself so honourably as præfect of a cohort, that he has received the highest applause from his superior officers; and although TRAJAN's answer to this epistle is not extant, we may be assured, from the benevolence and justice of the emperor's disposition, that the merit of the young NYMPHIDIUS did not long remain without an adequate reward.

EPISTLE XXVI.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From Nicæa.
A. U. C.
855.
TRAJAN.
6.

THE citizens of *Nicæa*, Sir, have publicly ad-
jured me by those instances, which are, and
ought to be most sacred to me, I mean, by your im-
mortal name and glory, to present to you their hum-
ble

ble petition. I thought it contrary to my duty to deny the request, and therefore send, with this letter, the petition, as delivered by them to me.

EPISTLE XXVII.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

YOU must examine into the pretensions of the From Rome.
Niceans, who affirm, that, by a grant from AU- A. U. C.
 GUSTUS, they have a right to the estates of such of 855. TRAJAN.
 their citizens, as die intestate. Convene all parties, 6.
 that are in any degree concerned in this affair; and
 then, in concert with VIRDIUS GEMELLINUS, and my
 freedman EPIMACHUS, who being my officers°, are
 representatives of me. You must weigh the different
 allegations, and from thence determine, in the man-
 ner you shall judge most equitable.

OBSERVATIONS.

By PLINY's letters to TRAJAN, we may observe, that the name CÆSAR was held in such awe and devotion, that no petition, when introduced and offered by adjurations, to the glory and immortality of the emperor, could be disregarded or refused.

The reigning emperor was not only *pontifex maximus*, but was worshipped as a God; and in the ninety seventh letter we shall find PLINY obliging the Christians to renounce CHRIST, and to adore the statues of the heathen deities, and of TRAJAN in particular.

In the emperor's answer he mentions two persons, with whom PLINY is to act in concert. *Adhibitis VIRDIO GEMELLINO, et EPIMACHO liberto meo, procuratoribus*: "In concert with VIRDIUS GEMELLINUS, and my freedman EPIMACHUS, who, being my officers, are representatives of me." The translation of the word *procuratoribus* is, perhaps, too loose, but may be justified, in some measure, by the note of CATANÆUS, who says, *Quia acta*

° *Procuratoribus.*

gestaque sunt a procuratore CÆSARIS, sic a jurisconsultis comprobantur, ac si a CÆSARE gesta sunt : "The determination of a procurator was, by the sanction and opinion of the lawyers, thought equally valid with whatever the emperor ratified himself."

EPISTLE XXVIII.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From *Nieca.*
A. U. C.
855.
TRAJAN.
6.

IN a letter to me from LYCORMAS, your freedman, he desired, Sir, if any embassy from *Bosphorus*^P passed through this place towards *Rome*, that I should detain the ambassadors, till LYCORMAS himself came hither. The ambassador is not yet arrived in the city, where, at present, I reside; but a messenger is come from *Sarmatia*, and I resolved to make use of this opportunity, which chance has given me, to send him forward with the messenger, who had been before dispatched to me from LYCORMAS: that by the several letters from LYCORMAS, and the king of *Sarmatia*, you may be informed of such affairs, as perhaps you ought to know at one and the same time.

^P *Bosphorus Cimmerius*, the kingdom, in which MITHRIDATES took refuge, and where he killed himself. It comprehended many provinces, all subject to the Bosphoran princes. It lies North East of the Thracian *Bosphorus*, on the opposite side of the Euxine sea.

EPISTLE XXIX.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From *Nieca.*
A. U. C.
855.
TRAJAN.
6.

LETTERS from the king of *Sarmatia* assure me, that there are certain affairs, of which you ought to be informed, as soon as possible: therefore, to forward the expedition of the messenger, who brings

brings your letters from that king, I have granted him a passport.

EPISTLE XXX.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

THE embassador of the king of *Sarmatia* having, by his own inclination, remained two days at *Nicea*, where he found me, I thought, Sir, I need not retard him any longer. First, because the arrival of your freedman LYCORMAS was uncertain: then again, because I had informed you, by my last letter, that LYCORMAS desired, if any embassador should come from *Bosphorus*, he should be detained by me, till LYCORMAS himself arrived. I had no plausible pretence of stopping him any longer, especially as the letters from LYCORMAS, which, as I said in my last, I was unwilling to detain, must have reached *Rome*, unless I am mistaken, before the embassador.

From *Nicea*.
A. U. C.
855.
TRAJAN.
6.

OBSERVATIONS.

The diligence of PLINY appears by the three foregoing letters. In any other light they are of little consequence. Neither the character, nor station of LYCORMAS, nor any particulars of the king of *Sarmatia*, can be known.

The geographers describe two countries of the name of *Sarmatia*; one in *Europe*, the other in *Asia*. It is the latter probably, to which these letters allude. At the time when TRAJAN reduced *Armenia* to a *Roman* province, the kings of *Sarmatia* and *Bosphorus* ^a submitted to the emperor: but the embassy, and messages here mentioned, are previous to that conquest, which was effected in the year of *Rome* eight hundred and sixty two.

^a Vide EUTROP. Hist lib. 8.

EPISTLE XXXI.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
855.
TRAJAN.
6.

YOUR messenger SERVILIUS PUDENS arrived, Sir, in *Nicomedia* on the twenty fourth of November, and delivered me from the anxiety of a long expectation.

OBSERVATIONS.

This is the first letter, that appears to have been written by PLINY from *Nicomedia*; where, in all probability, he arrived about the middle of November; and we may reasonably suppose, that he passed the remaining part of the winter in the metropolis of *Bithynia*.

EPISTLE XXXII.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
855.
TRAJAN.
6.

BEFORE my arrival, Sir, at this place, the *Nicomedians* had begun to make a large addition to their old market-place^r; in a corner of which stood an antient temple of the great mother of the Gods^s. This temple must either be rebuilt, or removed; particularly, because it is much lower than the building, which rises to a very considerable height. When I made an enquiry, whether the temple had been legally consecrated, I was told, that the form of consecration was different at *Nicomedia*, from the form, which is observed at *Rome*. Consider therefore, Sir, whether a temple, not legally consecrated, may be removed without any prejudice to religion. If it may be done without impiety, the removal, on all other accounts, will be extremely convenient.

^r *Priori foro.*^s CYBELE.

EPISTLE XXXIII.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

YOU need not be scrupulous on account of religion, my dearest SECUNDUS, if you think proper, that the temple of CYBELE should be removed into a more commodious situation: nor need you give yourself any uneasiness, although you cannot find a particular law for the former consecration, because a foreign city may not be capable of those exterior rights, which the laws have enjoined at Rome.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
855.
TRAJAN.
6.

OBSERVATIONS.

The *fora Romana* were built in such a manner, as to be the pride and ornament of Rome. They were of two sorts, *civilia* and *venalia*^t. The latter appear to have been most answerable to our markets. The word *market* cannot indeed convey a proper idea of the *fora venalia*, as our metropolis is rather a city of trade, than of magnificence. In Rome, splendor and convenience were happily blended together, and were never carried to a greater height, than in the reign of TRAJAN. We may presume, that all the cities under the Roman government and protection endeavoured to recommend themselves to the emperor by adorning, and re-edifying their public buildings. The *Nicomedians* therefore, in preparation of PLINY's arrival, had begun a new *forum*, which was probably both *civile* and *venale*, encompassed with arched porticos, and containing a large space in the middle, for the commerce and convenience of the inhabitants.

^t Vide LIPSII, lib. 3.

EPISTLE XXXIV.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
6.

WE have this day ratified and renewed, Sir, our solemn vows for your health and prosperity. On you depends the public welfare. May the Gods grant us ever to ratify, and renew such vows.

EPISTLE XXXV.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
6.

YOUR letter, my dearest SECUNDUS, by which I learn, that you and the provincials have ratified and renewed your solemn vows for my health and prosperity, is very acceptable to me.

OBSERVATION.

Solemnia vota pro incolunitate tua, &c. One of the commentators gives the following note to this passage; *Hæc pro salute principum vota solennitate publica suscipi solebant tert. Non. Januarias*: "These public vows, for the health of the emperors, were performed on the third of the nones of January." ROSINUS, in his observations on the festivals of January, marks down the third of the nones thus: "*C. C. Tertius Januarii dies, Latine tertius nonarum, et erat comitialis.*" The *dies comitiales* signified those days, on which the people assembled. Various reasons might concur to affix this ceremony on the third day of the new year. The *dies ater* was immediately subsequent to the kalends, or first day of the month: and the number three was held in the most superstitious veneration by the Romans. The first of January was sacred to the consuls, who then took possession of their dignity: the second was an unlucky day, on which no public undertaking ought to be solemnized; the third therefore was the earliest festival, that could be dedicated to the emperor.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XXXVI.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

THE citizens of *Nicomedia*, Sir, have expended three millions, three hundred, and twenty nine thousand sesterces ^u, upon an aqueduct, and the work still remains imperfect, and in a ruinous condition. In another work of the same kind, they have expended two millions of sesterces ^w. But they have also deserted this second undertaking; and after having laid out injudiciously such great sums of money, they must now convey water to the city, by beginning a new aqueduct in another place. I have discovered a very clear spring, from whence, I think, the water may be brought; if, according to their first design, they carry it through arches, in such a manner, as not to confine it absolutely to the most level, or the least elevated parts of the town. Some few arches are still remaining: to these may be added some others of square stones, taken from the former building; and in my opinion, the rest may be made of brick, as brick-work is more easily and cheaply performed. But the chief point necessary is, that you should send to us a person well versed in water-works, or architecture, to prevent future errors, of the same sort with those, which have already happened. I dare be positive in one particular, that from the beauty and convenience of the work, it will be rendered worthy of your reign.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
6.

^u Equal to 26874 *l.* 14 *s.* 9 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$

^w Equal to 16145 *l.* 16 *s.* 8 *d.*

EPISTLE XXXVII.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

CARE must be taken, that the city of *Nicomedia* may be supplied with water. I am thoroughly persuaded, that your diligence will be such as it ought to be, in bringing this work to perfection. But, in the name of heaven ^x, is it not a matter, that demands an equal share of your attention, to enquire, by whose fault the *Nicomediens* have thrown away so large a sum of money? And to know, whether by beginning, and afterwards deserting these aqueducts, they have not gratified the private views of particular persons. Communicate to me the several circumstances, that may result from such an enquiry.

OBSERVATIONS.

The several accounts, and the few remains of the *Roman* aqueducts, are surprisingly magnificent. SEXTUS JULIUS FRONTINUS ^y, who was contemporary with PLINY, has written a treatise upon this subject ^z. The public conduits and aqueducts were committed to his care, in the second year of NERVA: and, if I am not mistaken, he reckons only nine aqueducts, in his time, at *Rome*: to which belonged thirteen thousand, five hundred, and ninety four pipes; each pipe being one inch in diameter, and three inches in circumference.

The method of distributing the waters was by reservoirs, called *castella* ^a, into which the water flowed through subterraneous vaulted passages ^b, made either of brick or stone.

^x *Deus fidius.*

^y Whom PLINY succeeded in the augurship.

^z Entitled FRONTINUS *de aquæductibus.*

^a *Castella sunt derivacula quædam laxiora certis spatiis emodulata, ex quibus per fistulas aqua in varia loca distribuitur, id est, in villas et prætoria nobilium, indultu principis.* BUDÆUS.

^b To these kind of arched passages PLINY alludes, in his letter, when he says, *Manent adhuc paucissimi arcus, &c.*

Proper overseers were appointed, to whom the distribution of the waters was entrusted. A duty was laid on all the water communicated to private houses; and such water, as was not fit for drinking, was applied to other uses. It served the baths, the *naumachia*, the dyers of cloth, and the tanners of hides; and was lastly conveyed to the *Cloaca*, which emptied themselves into the *Tiber*. So nice and exact was the public œconomy of *Rome*.

The capital of the empire was an example to the lesser cities, that we cannot be surprized to find the *Nicomedi-ans* at a considerable expence in undertaking works, which were at once ornamental, and useful to their city. The answer from *TRAJAN* to *PLINY* shews the emperor of a spirit and disposition equal and adapted to the government of the world.

EPISTLE XXXVIII.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

WITH a joy suitable to the occasion, we have celebrated, Sir, the day, on which, by accepting the imperial dignity, you saved the empire itself; and we have earnestly implored the Gods, to preserve and prosper you, as the safety and welfare of mankind is annexed to your prosperity. At the same time I placed myself at the head of the troops, and of the provincials, who all vied with me in renewing, in the most solemn manner, our oaths of fidelity to your person.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

EPISTLE XXXIX.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

YOUR letter, my dearest *SECUNDUS*, is extremely acceptable to me, as it informs me, with how much joy and devotion the army and the provincials, you being their leader, have celebrated the day of my accession to the empire.

From *Rome*.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

OBSERVATIONS.

The date of the thirty eighth epistle ^c may be almost pointed out to a day. The provincials and the army annually celebrated the accession of TRAJAN to the empire, which, as has been already mentioned, was on the twenty seventh of January. PLINY undoubtedly was as expeditious as possible, in acquainting the emperor with the joyful ceremonies of that day. His letter therefore may be assigned to the twenty eighth of January.

Diem, Domine, quo servasti imperium dum suscipis. The scholiasts ^d are of opinion, that this sentence, particularly the words *servasti imperium*, allude to the day of TRAJAN's adoption by NERVA, and not to the day of his accession. But the emperor could not be said, *suscepere imperium* from the time when he was adopted, but only from the death of NERVA: the full meaning of the compliment seems to be, "that TRAJAN was the only person fit to sustain the " *Roman* government, which under a less wise, or a less " equitable prince, must have fallen into former distractions." In such a compliment, the adoption indeed might tacitly be included; but the celebration of the festival must have been the anniversary, on which TRAJAN succeeded to the empire.

^c The sixtieth epistle in the edition of LONGOLIUS.

^d CATANÆUS and BUCHNERIUS. See note 4 and 5. on ep. 60.

EPISTLE XL.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

I Intreat you, Sir, to assist me with your judgement, upon a point, in which I am doubtful. I know not, whether I ought to commit the guard of the prisons to the public slaves, as has been hitherto practised, or to the soldiers? The former, I fear, will not act with fidelity: and the employment will require too large a number of the latter. In the mean time, I have added some few soldiers to the public slaves. Yet,
I per-

I perceive, that this method is manifestly dangerous, as it may occasion a neglect in both parties, and may allow them an opportunity of mutual reproaches to each other.

E P I S T L E XLI.

T R A J A N to P L I N Y.

IT is not necessary, my dearest SECUNDUS, to employ foldiers to guard the prisons. Let us continue the same custom, which has hitherto prevailed in the province, by appointing public slaves for that purpose. They may be kept strictly to their duty, since you have full power to exert such care and severity, as may be requisite upon the occasion. For if the foldiers, as you justly observe, are mixed with these slaves, both parties, by mutually trusting to each other, will become more negligent. But let this be our constant maxim, to call off as few foldiers as possible from their colours.

From *Rome*.
A. U. C.
856.
T R A J A N.
7.

E P I S T L E XLII.

P L I N Y to T R A J A N.

AS you have allowed me, Sir, the permission of appealing to you in all doubtful points, I hope, your attention to my present difficulties will not be thought too low a condescension.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
856.
T R A J A N.
7.

In several of the cities of this province, but particularly in *Nicomedia* and *Nicea*, many of those persons, who were, formerly, either condemned to the mines, adjudged to be exposed in the theatres^c, or to undergo various punishments of that sort, are at present employed in all the functions and duties of the public slaves; and, as servants to the public, receive an

^c *Vel in ludum.*

annual salary. Ever since I have been apprized of this fact, I have again and again considered, in what manner I ought to proceed. For, on one hand, I imagined, that I might act too rigorously, if, after so long an interval of time, I should enforce any severities against men, who were now far advanced in years; and who lived, as I was assured, in a very regular, decent manner; and on the other hand, I thought it dishonourable for the state, that persons, under the brand of condemnation, should be employed in the public offices. And as it appeared to me an unnecessary expence to maintain men, who being discarded, would be rendered perfectly idle; so I thought it incumbent on me to leave this affair undetermined, until I received your orders. You will ask me, perhaps, by what means they were released from those punishments, to which they had been condemned? I made the same enquiry, but have received no satisfactory answer. The decrees indeed, by which they were condemned, were produced to me; but no records could be found, by which they were pardoned. I was told however, that in compliance with their petitions, the proconsuls and legates had been persuaded to grant their dismissal: and I am more enclined to believe the fact, as there is great probability, that such a step could never have been taken, without sufficient authority.

EPISTLE XLIII.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From Rome.

A. U. C.

856.

TRAJAN.

7.

REMEMBER, that you was sent into the province where you now are, to correct the several abuses, that evidently appeared to want a reformation. But the instance, which you mention, must absolutely be redressed; as I find, that criminals, condemned to capital punishments, have not only been released

released without any proper authority, but are even employed in those offices, which ought to be filled by persons of a more unexceptionable character. All those criminals therefore, who have received their sentence within these last ten years, and who have been illegally released, must be given up to their several punishments. If any others are found, the date of whose condemnation exceeds ten years, and who are old men, let such services be appointed to them, as bear a near proportion to the punishments, to which they were condemned. Slaves of this sort are generally assigned to attend the public baths, to cleanse the common sewers, and to repair the streets, and high-roads.

OBSERVATIONS.

The four preceding epistles are in a manner upon one subject, as they all tend to let us into part of the *Roman* regulations, in regard to their slaves. The subject is curious, nor have the particular circumstances been touched upon by any other author.

The fortieth epistle ^f mentions a particular employment of great trust, the custody of the prisons assigned to the public slaves ^g. The forty second letter ^h takes notice of such slaves, who having been condemned [*vel in opus, vel in ludum*] to work in the mines ⁱ, or to be exposed in the theatres ^k, had evaded the sentence of their condemnation, and had introduced themselves into the rank of those slaves, who were appropriated for the service of the state. The emperor's decision, in both these cases, is very much to his honour. He shews himself to have been a prince of excellent sagacity; entirely attentive to the public welfare; and immoveably steady in the execution of the laws.

^f In the edition of LONGOLIUS, epistle 30.

^g He calls them *publici civitatum servi*: they were maintained at the public expence.

^h In LONGOLIUS, epistle 40.

ⁱ TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS is said, by SUIDAS, to have been the first inventor of this punishment.

^k To fight with wild beasts.

EPISTLE XLIV.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

GABIUS BASSUS, who is præfect upon the coast of *Pontica*, came hither, Sir, in the most dutiful and respectful manner. He staid with me several days, and, as far I could discern, he is a man of great worth, and highly deserving of your favour. I acquainted him with your particular orders, that out of the cohorts, which you had placed under my command, he must be contented with ten of the *Beneficarii*¹, two captains of horse, and one centurion. He answered, that the number was not sufficient for his purpose, and, that he would write to you upon the occasion: for which reason, I did not think it proper to recall immediately his supernumerary forces.

¹ See the observations.

EPISTLE XLV.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

I Have likewise had a letter from GABIUS BASSUS, in which he tells me, the number of soldiers, that I had allotted for him, is not sufficient. You seem desirous of knowing my answer, and you will find it subjoined to this letter. It is of great consequence to consider, whether necessity requires, or ambition prompts a man to make large demands: but the public welfare ought to be the principal point in our view; and consequently all possible care should be taken, that the soldiers may not be absent from their colours.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

The word *Beneficarii* cannot be rendered into English. It is peculiar to the military part of the *Roman* government. According to *VEGETIUS*, “the *Beneficarii* were promoted “by the tribunes, and assumed their names from the benefit “of their promotion¹.” This account is still farther explained by *LIPSIUS*, *Duo autem fuerunt militum genera: MUNIFICES, et IMMUNES. Illi, qui munus facerent, id est, fossas, vallum struerent, &c. Illi, qui his omnibus vacarent, qui et Beneficarii dicti, quod beneficio imperatorum muneribus vacarent.* “The *Romans* had two sorts of soldiers, whom they “distinguished by the appellation of *Munifices*, and *Immun-* “*nes*. The former were such, who were obliged to do all “the duties of the camp: they made the ditches, trenches, “and works of that kind. The latter were exempted from “all these employments, and were called *Beneficarii*, from “the exemption, in which they were indulged by the emperor, or the general, who commanded.” The same author then proceeds to a subdivision of the *Immunes*, and concludes his explanation, by saying, *Nec imperatores solum ipsi dabant, sed indulgebant, aut connivebant etiam pro tempore tribuni:* “Not only the emperors, but even the tribunes connived at, or allowed these kind of indulgencies upon certain occasions.”

It is impossible from these, or any other accounts of the *Beneficarii*^m, to draw an exact parallel between them and any military post, that is established in our armies. If it may be brought to hold in some particulars, it would deviate widely in others. They are neither answerable to our half-pay officers, nor to our hospital pensioners. They seem to have been soldiers, who, during the temporary pleasure of the commander, were not charged with any labours of the camp. So that, while they received the salary, and advantages of their posts, they were totally exempt from doing the duties appertaining to their rank and station.

¹ *Beneficarii ab eo appellati, quod promoventur beneficio tribunorum.* The commentator upon *VEGETIUS* has this quotation from *Festus, de verborum significatione: Beneficarii milites dicebantur, qui vacabant muneris beneficio.*

^m Perhaps they are nearest to the Exempts: lifeguards free from duty.

EPISTLE XLVI.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

MAXIMUS, Sir, who is your freedman, and one of the officers of your household, has assured me, that he must require more soldiers, besides the ten *Beneficiarii*, whom you ordered me to assign to GEMELLINUS°. In the mean time, I thought proper not to take away those, who were already in the service of MAXIMUS; especially as he was going into *Paphlagonia* to procure corn. At his desire therefore, and for his security, I have added two horse-guards. I entreat you to let me know, in what manner you would have me act for the future.

° GEMELLINO, *optimo viro*: "To the most excellent GEMELLINUS." Such an expression is consistent with the idiom of the Latin language, but sounds ill in a translation, as not being agreeable, or peculiar to our manner of writing familiar letters.

EPISTLE XLVII.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

YOU have acted right, in allowing soldiers at this particular time to my freedman MAXIMUS. When he was going for a supply of corn, he was in that instance, employed upon an extraordinary occasion. But, when he returns to his former employment, the two soldiers, which you have already granted to him, and the same number, which were allowed him by VIRDIUS GEMELLINUS, one of the officers of my household, who is his assistant, will be sufficient.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

The discipline observed by TRAJAN, in the conduct and regulation of his army, is remarkable throughout all those letters, which relate to military affairs. He shews great unwillingness, that the soldiers should ever be employed, or called off from their posts, unless upon a very necessary, or a very extraordinary occasion: such indeed was the employment of MAXIMUS, who was sent into *Paphlagonia*, to bring corn from thence to *Nicomedia*. The *Romans* acted wisely, in assigning to their soldiers a certain daily allowance of corn, which was distributed by the proper officers, with the utmost care and exactness; and was of more benefit, than an equal stipend paid to them in money. The provinces were obliged to supply the *Roman* state with a tenth part of their crops of corn; which proportion was called *Decuma*. As MAXIMUS required the assistance of a guard, in his journey to *Paphlagonia*, we may suppose, that he went to exact the *frumentum decumanum*, a tax, that could not be gathered, perhaps, without force and compulsion.

EPISTLE XLVIII.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

SEMPRONIUS CÆLIANUS, a young man of an excellent character, has sent to me two slaves, who were discovered among the recruits. I deferred their punishment till I had consulted you, in what manner they ought to be punished, as you are at once the founder and preserver of all military discipline. To me their case appears a little dubious; for, although they have already taken the military oath, they have not been as yet enlisted into any of the legions. I entreat, Sir, that you will let me know, in what manner I am to proceed, as my determination must be established into a precedent.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XLIX.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

SEMPRONIUS CÆLIANUS has acted in consequence of my orders, by sending to you those men, concerning whom it will be necessary to enquire, whether they appear to have deserved a capital punishment? But the difference is material, if they offered themselves voluntarily, or if they were chosen; or indeed, if they supplied the place of others. If they were chosen, the guilt will be on their officers: if they appeared instead of others, the persons only, who placed them there, are blameable; but if they came spontaneously, and were conscious of their situation, they ought to be punished. It is not of much consequence, that they were not enlisted into any of the legions. For, from the day on which they were admitted into the service, they ought to have given a just account of their station and character.

OBSERVATIONS.

The laws of *Rome* prohibited slaves from enlisting themselves into the *Roman* army. VIRGIL alludes to this prohibition, where he says,

*Quorum primævus HELENOR
Mæonio regi, quem serva LYCIMNIA furtim
Sustulerat, vetitisque ad Trojam miserat armis* ^p.

“ HELENOR, elder of the two; by birth,
“ On one side royal, one a son of earth,
“ Whom to the *Lydian* king, LYCIMNIA bare,
“ And sent her boasted bastard to the war:
“ (A privilege, which none but freemen share ^q.)”

}

Public exigencies, however, sometimes required a suspension of the wisest laws: as in the second Punic war, where

^p *Æneid.* 9. *l.* 545.

^q DRYDEN.

FLORUS

FLORUS tells us, *Arma non erant, detracta sunt templis: de-
erat juventus, in sacramentum militiæ liberata servitia*¹: “The
“ Romans were obliged to supply themselves with arms out
“ of the temples, and to fill up their army with slaves.”
Although some other instances of this kind might be traced
throughout the *Roman* history; yet, when we consider, that
slaves, adulterers, common players, and pantomimes, or
any persons branded with marks of infamy, were not le-
gally to be enlisted into the military service, the political
œconomy of the *Roman* army appears admirably well insti-
tuted and conducted: so that *Rome* seems to have owed her
conquests, not more to the bravery, than to the policy of her
arms.

¹ LUCII FLORI, lib. 2. cap. 6.

EPISTLE L.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

I Return you my most humble thanks, Sir, that amidst
so many more important affairs, you have attend-
ed to the several points, which I have offered to your
consideration. I must again entreat you to indulge
me in the same manner.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

A certain person came to give me information, that
his adversaries, who had received from SERVILIUS CAL-
VUS a sentence of banishment for three years, still re-
sided in the province. On the other hand they assured
me, that they had received a revocation of that de-
cree from CALVUS himself, and they read to me his
edict. Upon this account, I thought it necessary to
refer the case entirely to yourself: for, although your
mandate forbids me to recall the criminals, who have
been banished by me, or by my predecessors; yet it
contains no directions, in what manner I am to treat
those exiles, who have been both banished and re-
called by former governors. I must therefore con-
sult you, Sir, in what manner you would have me
act, not only in those circumstances, but when I find
persons remaining in the province, who have been sen-
tenced to perpetual banishment.

A case

A case of this latter sort has lately fallen under my cognizance. A person, condemned to perpetual exile by the proconsul JULIUS^f, was brought before me. As I knew, that the acts of BASSUS were annulled, and that the senate had allowed all those, who had suffered by his decision, to appeal from his decrees, if they brought their appeal within two years; I asked this man, if he had appeared before the proconsul, or had acquainted him with his situation? He answered, he had not. This answer obliges me to consult you, whether he is to undergo the same punishment allotted for him formerly, or any other of a severer kind, and particularly in what manner he, or others in his circumstances, are to be treated? I subjoin to this letter the decree and edict of CALVUS, and also the decree of BASSUS.

^f JULIUS BASSUS. See book 4. epistle 9.

EPISTLE LI.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
853.
TRAJAN.
7.

I Shall not fail to let you know my resolutions concerning those criminals, who were banished for three years by the proconsul, P. SERVILIUS CALVUS, and were again restored, by his edict, to their former residence in the province, as soon as CALVUS shall assign to me his reasons for having acted in that manner.

The person, who was condemned to perpetual banishment by JULIUS BASSUS, and had the allowance of two years to make his appeal from that sentence, if he had thought himself injured by the decree, since he had made no such appeal, and still continued to stay in the province, ought to be sent in chains to my prætorian præfects. He will not be sufficiently punished by enforcing his former sentence, since he eluded it in so contemptuous a manner. O B-

OBSERVATIONS.

In triennium relegatos : “ Banished for three years.” The *relegatio* was a milder punishment than the *exilium* : not in point of time, for the *relegatio* was often perpetual : but in other particulars, the person relegated did not lose his right of a *Roman* citizen, nor forfeit his goods and fortune. In this sense *OVID* writes when he says,

Ira quidem moderata tua est ; vitamque dedisti :
Nec mihi jus civis, nec mihi nomen abest.
Nec mea concessa est aliis fortuna ; nec exul
Edicti verbis nominor ipse tui.

“ Thro’ *CÆSAR*’s mildness still doth *OVID* live,
 “ And still my natal rites his bounties give,
 “ A *Roman*’s dignity, a *Roman*’s name :
 “ The glorious, only hopes of deathless fame ;
 “ And in that edict, which his wrath did sign,
 “ That dignity, as yet untouch’d, is mine.”

The *exilium* was attended with all the servilities possible. The person exiled was obliged to leave his country without any of the benefits necessary for life. The punishment was equal to the *aquæ et ignis interdictio* : it was originally so called ; and as the sentence pronounced against the condemned person, by prohibiting him from the benefits of fire and water, obliged him to leave his country ; the *exilium* was the consequence, and not the name of the punishment.

Vinctus mitti ad præfectos mei prætorii debet : “ He ought “ to be sent in chains to my prætorian præfects.” These officers were originally two in number[†]. They were commanders of the emperor’s household guards : the *prætorium* signifying the palace of the prince, and the *præfectus* the chief commander, to whom the safeguard and defence of the emperor’s person was entrusted. The employment was of great dignity, and was constantly filled by men of the highest rank. The *præfectus prætorii*, at the investiture into his office, was presented by the emperor with a sword : and

[†] They were created by *AUGUSTUS* : succeeding princes encreased the number.

TRAJAN, in giving this emblem of authority to SUBVRANUS, made use of a most remarkable expression, which has been justly transmitted, with the utmost applause, to all succeeding generations: "If I govern well, use this sword " in my defence: if ill, use it to my destruction."

E P I S T L E LII.

P L I N Y to T R A J A N .

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

I Am apprehensive, Sir, that the public money, which is now collecting, and has been already gathered in by your orders, and my obedience to those orders, may lye dead. Because purchases in land seldom or ever are to be procured; and we shall find few people willing to become debtors to a commonwealth, especially at twelve *per cent.* the same interest, which they pay to private persons. Consider therefore, Sir, whether you will not think proper, to lower the interest, which may prove the means to invite solvent debtors: and if that method has not the desired effect, whether the money may not be placed in equal portions among the Decurions*, in case they shall give sufficient security to the commonwealth. Although they should be unwilling and averse to receive it, yet if the interest is reduced, their burden will be less irksome.

* The *Decuriones municipales* are explained in the observations on the eighth epistle of the first book, and in the observations on the eighty eighth and eighty ninth epistle of this book.

E P I S T L E LIII.

T R A J A N to P L I N Y .

From Rome.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

I Agree with you entirely, my dearest SECUNDUS, that no easier method can be devised for placing out the public money, than by reducing the interest,
You

You must settle the rate of it proportionable to the number of the borrowers. It is by no means agreeable to the justice of my reign, to oblige any persons to borrow money, that may prove a burden to them hereafter.

OBSERVATIONS.

By PLINY's epistle to TRAJAN we are informed, that the interest of public loans was at this time twelve *per cent.* and from the emperor's answer we may conclude, that it was reduced afterwards, at least in the province of *Bithynia*, to a lower rate. TRAJAN's conduct is remarkably just and noble. He will by no means consent, that his subjects shall be burdened, by paying interest in an involuntary, or coercive manner: he rather chuses to let the public revenue remain unaccumulated, than to encrease it by any act of compulsion. The epistles upon these subjects are always curious, as they tend to instruct us in the oeconomic part of the *Roman* government, and to display the character of TRAJAN in various lights.

EPISTLE LIV.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

WHEN I consider the extent of your power, and the magnificence of your mind, I think it absolutely necessary, that I should point out to you such works, as by their beauty and convenience may be worthy of your present glory, and suitable to that greatness of your character, which must remain to all eternity.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

At a small distance from *Nicomedia* is a very large lake, through which marbles, fruits, woods, and all kind of materials are brought in boats to the high road, without any great charge or trouble: from thence they are conveyed to the sea, but with great labour, and a much greater expence. Any plan,

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B b

that

that might obviate this inconvenience, would require many hands; but they will not be wanting, as the inhabitants in this city, and in the neighbourhood, are very numerous: and since the work itself will be of universal benefit, we may hope, with a great degree of certainty, that a sufficient number of workmen will willingly offer themselves upon the occasion. One circumstance still remains, that you should send hither, if you think proper, a surveyor^w, or an architect, who may diligently examine, whether the lake is higher than the sea. The engineers in this country affirm, that the height of the lake is forty cubits^x above the sea. I have discovered a large trench in the same place, struck out by a king of *Nicomedia*. It is imperfect, and therefore we cannot know, whether it was designed as a drain to the adjacent fields, or as a communication from the lake to the river: and we are also dubious, whether the undertaking was frustrated by the death of the king, or by the absolute despair of bringing it to perfection. Under these circumstances, your glory (you will pardon my ambition) incites and animates me to go forward, as I am desirous, that you should bring to perfection those works, which kings were able only to begin.

^w *Libratorem*. The word properly signifies an engineer, who conveys water from springs to conduits, by levelling the ground.

^x Forty cubits are equal to nineteen yards, one foot and a half; or to fifty eight feet and a half.

EPISTLE LV.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

THE account of the lake near *Nicomedia* has made such an impression upon me, that I may probably think it expedient to open a communication between the lake and the sea: but certainly we

we ought to enquire very strictly, whether, by such a communication, the water of the lake itself may not entirely be lost: nor ought you to be ignorant of what quantity of water is contained in it, and from whence that water arises.

You may demand a surveyor from CALPURNIUS MACER, and I will send you from hence a person, perfectly well versed in works of this nature.

E P I S T L E LVI.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

FROM the excellence of your judgement, you express very just apprehensions, Sir, that the communication of the lake to the river may occasion the lake itself to be exhausted, and lost in the sea: but I think, in this particular case, I have found out a remedy to obviate that inconvenience: for the lake may be brought through a trench as far as the river, so as not to be admitted into it: but a bank may be left between them, that shall at once contain, and disunite the waters; the consequence of which will be, that the lake will not seem joined to the river, and will have the same effects, as if they were united. We shall find no difficulty in bringing any burdens over the small intermediate space of ground. This method must be pursued, if there is an absolute necessity for it; but I hope there will be no occasion, because the lake itself is very deep, and supplies a river, which runs on the opposite side^y. If we stop up this old passage, and open a new course in the place, which we intend, the lake will furnish us with water sufficient for our purpose, without losing any of its present quality: besides, that spot of ground,

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

^y *In contrariam partem flumen emittit*: "It supplies a river, which runs on the side opposite to our intended works."

through which we propose to make the trench, contains several little streams, which, if collected, will supply any water, that may be taken from the lake. But, if you shall be of opinion, that the trench ought to be made longer, and narrower, and to be carried on directly to the sea, without any communication with the river, then the reflux of the sea will give back all the water, that (during the ebbing of the tide) may be exhausted from the lake. However, if nature had denied all these advantages to the place, we might have tried another expedient, and by flood-gates might have restrained the course of the water within proper bounds: but a surveyor will be able to examine, and consider all these particulars. And indeed, Sir, you ought to send us such a person according to your promise; for this affair is worthy of your attention, and becoming your dignity. In the mean time, I have written in your name to that great and excellent man, CALPURNIUS MACER, to send hither a surveyor, perfectly well qualified for this undertaking.

EPISTLE LVII.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

IT is very evident to me, my dearest SECUNDUS, that in the affair of the lake you have not been deficient either in prudence or diligence, since you have provided expedients to secure the lake from being exhausted; and to render it to us hereafter of much more general benefit. Fix therefore upon that method, which the thing itself shall point out to you, as most expedient.

CALPURNIUS MACER, I believe, will supply you with a surveyor: artificers of that sort are never wanting in those provinces.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

PLINY the elder, when he describes *Nicomedia*, calls it *Nicomedia Bithyniæ præclara*: “*Nicomedia*, the glory of “*Bithynia*.”

NICOMEDES, the son of ZIPÆTES, left four sons: the eldest succeeded him in the throne and kingdom of *Bithynia*. A succession of kings followed; some of whom were of the name of NICOMEDES. They all chose *Nicomedia* for their chief place of residence: so that it is impossible to affix to any one of them the work, which is mentioned by PLINY. *Fossam a rege percussam*: “A trench, dug out by “a king of *Nicomedia*.”

The conclusion of the epistle particularly demonstrates the sincerity and zeal, which PLINY entertained for his imperial master. “Your glory, says he to TRAJAN, is one “of my chief incitements upon this occasion. In your “reign I wish to see the design perfected, as the comple- “tion of it must shew you superior to the kings of *Bithy- “nia*, who have always been frustrated in the accomplish- “ment of so great an undertaking.” None of the *Roman* emperors exceeded TRAJAN in works of public benefit, or magnificence: and although all authors agree in this part of his character, yet his own epistles are the best testimony to prove the assertion. In his directions, concerning the lake of *Nicomedia*, it is difficult to determine, whether the conciseness, or the perspicuity of his orders, seem most remarkable.

EPISTLE LVIII.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

I Intreat you, Sir, to let me know your instructions concerning such patents, as are elapsed in point of time. Are they still to continue in force? And how long? I am under a great difficulty upon this occasion, as I am afraid, that my ignorance may mislead me, either to confirm privileges, which are unlawful, or to obstruct those, which are necessary.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

EPISTLE LIX.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

THE patents, of which the terms are expired, ought not to be in force: and therefore, I make it one of my principal rules, to send new patents into all the provinces, before the time when they can possibly be wanted.

OBSERVATIONS.

The *diplomata* were letters patents, given by the emperors, or their representatives, upon various occasions; and in this sense the word is explained by STEPHENS. *Διπλωμα ἐστὶν quas patentes literas appellamus.*

In a former epistle^a, where PLINY, speaking of a messenger, who was sent to TRAJAN from *Sarmatia*, says, *diplomate adjuvi*, the word signifies a passport, or, as CELLARIUS explains it, *literæ principales quibus iter facientes per provincia adjuvabantur*. Thus again when CALPURNIA is recalled into *Italy* by the death of FABATUS, her grandfather, PLINY excuses himself to the emperor, for having given her a passport, when he had never before granted such an indulgence to any person, who was not employed in business relating to the state^a. The use or application of the *diplomata*, spoken of in the two last epistles, is not ascertained. We can only tell, that this kind of grants were temporary: and that TRAJAN was particularly careful, not to admit the old patents to be of efficacy beyond their limited time.

^a Epistle the 29th.

^a *Usque in hoc tempus, domine, neque cuiquam diplomata commodavi, neque in rem ullam, nisi in tuam misi: quam perpetuam servationem meam quædam necessitas rapit.* See epistle 119.

EPISTLE LX.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

THE condition and maintenance of those, which are called *exposed infants*, is a question, Sir, of great consequence, and affects this whole province. After having heard the decrees of former emperors, I cannot possibly discover any particular, or any general rule, that in this case might guide the *Bithynians*. I have thought it necessary therefore to enquire of you, in what manner you would have us proceed. And indeed, I could not be of opinion, that it was proper for me to be contented with precedents, in an affair, which certainly demands your own authority. An edict, said to be the edict of AUGUSTUS, concerning ANNIA; the letters of VESPASIAN and TITUS to the *Lacedæmonians*, and to the *Achaians*; and the letters of DOMITIAN to the proconsuls AVIDIUS NIGRINIUS, and ARMENIUS BROCHUS; and of the same emperor to the *Lacedæmonians*, were read to me. As they did not appear correct, and many of them not genuine, and as I suppose, the true and correct copies may be found in your archives, I have not sent them to you.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

EPISTLE LXI.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

THE question relating to children born free, then exposed by their parents, and afterwards taken up by other persons, and educated in a state of slavery, has been often discussed: nor as yet can we find, among the institutions of my predecessors, any general rule, that might be established throughout all the provinces. It is true, there are epistles extant

From Rome.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

from DOMITIAN to AVIDIUS NIGRINUS, and to AR-
MENIUS BROCCUS, which, perhaps, ought to be ob-
served: but *Bithynia* is not one of the provinces men-
tioned in those letters. I am therefore of opinion,
that you must not deny their freedom to any persons,
who may claim it under such circumstances; nor
ought they to pay for their maintenance, in order to
enjoy their liberty.

OBSERVATIONS.

The barbarous custom of exposing new-born children was
of very antient date. It has been continued down, and has
extended itself to our own times and nation. Shame or ne-
cessity are the prevailing causes of the present practice. The
original of it began, by exposing certain infants, who had
been destined to be murdered, and whose murderers were
unwilling to shed innocent blood. Some of these children,
who were left in woods and wild places, were not only pre-
served almost in a miraculous manner, but lived to acquire
kingdoms, and to become the greatest heroes and princes of
antiquity. Such were OEDIPUS, ROMULUS, and others.
Examples of this sort might possibly make superstitious pa-
rents imagine, that a prosperous fate was constantly to at-
tend those children, who were thus exposed. The *Thebans*
had a particular law to prohibit so infamous an act of cru-
elty; and according to that law, such parents, who were
not of sufficient ability to maintain their children, were or-
dered to carry them, as soon as born, to the magistrates,
who were obliged to take care of their maintenance. The
magistrates used these children as slaves, taking their service
in recompence for the charge and trouble of their education.
The custom we find, by these epistles, was still prevalent
among the *Romans*. The orders of TRAJAN, upon the
occasion, are generous and humane.

EPISTLE LXII.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

I Have been much pressed to deliver my opinion, in consequence of a letter from DOMITIAN to MINICIUS RUFUS, and conformable to the example of my proconsular predecessors, concerning the claim of persons born free, and the settlement of their birth-right. I have looked into the decree of the senate, which relates to cases of this kind: it mentions only such provinces, as are governed by proconsuls. I have therefore deferred giving my opinion, till you send me instructions, Sir, in what manner you would have me proceed.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

EPISTLE LXIII.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

I F you will transmit to me the decree of the senate, which has occasioned your embarrassment, I shall be able to judge, whether the claims of persons born free, and the settlement of their birth-right, ought to come under your cognizance.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

OBSERVATIONS.

By the expression in the sixty second epistle, *Quod de his tantum provinciis loquitur, quibus proconsules præsunt*: "The decree mentions those provinces only, which were governed by proconsuls:" we are absolutely told, that PLINY had not the title, although he possessed the power of proconsul of *Bithynia*. The distinction seems extremely nice; but the original of it is mentioned by SÜETONIUS^b, and still more fully explained by ROSINUS, whose words are,

^b SÜETON. lib. 2. cap. 47.

OCTAVIUS AUGUSTUS, cum senatus, ac populi Romani voluntate compelleretur, ut solus rempublicam regeret, provinciarum administrationem aliam a priori instituit. Alias enim sibi reservavit, eas scilicet, quæ potentiores erant, et plus periculi ostendebant, ac vel hostes accolæ habebant, vel novos per se ipsæ aliquos motus turbare poterant. Quæ autem infirmiores et pacatiores erant, populo attribuit, ut in eas, quos vellent, mitterent; eosque, qui ipsis præessent, proconsules appellavit^c:

“ When, by the decree of the senate, and the voice of the Roman people, OCTAVIUS AUGUSTUS was obliged to take upon him the sole government of the commonwealth, he established an administration of the provinces, different from what had formerly been enacted. He reserved for himself all such provinces as were most powerful, and from whom the greatest danger might be expected, and which had either enemies [to the state] within their confines, or were formidable enough of themselves to raise commotions. Those, who were weaker, and more inclined to peace, he left at the disposal of the people, that they might nominate the officers for such employments: and the persons, to whom the people gave their nomination, were called proconsuls.”

From hence we perceive, that AUGUSTUS divided the administration of the provinces between himself and the people. The provincial governors, chosen by the people, were called proconsuls. Those appointed by the emperors were legates, with proconsular power, as appears by an antient inscription extracted from GRUTER, in MASSON'S life of PLINY. It begins thus, C. PLINIUS C. F. C. N. CÆCILIVS SECUNDVS COS. AVGV. LEGAT. PROPÆT. PROVINC. PONTI CONSULARI POTESTATE. IN EAM PROVINCIAM AB IMP. CÆSARE NERVA TRAJANO AVGV. GERMANICO MISSVS, &c. “ CAIVS PLINIVS SECVDVS, the son of CAIVS CNEIVS CÆCILIVS SECVDVS. consul. augur. procurator, legate of the province with consular power. He was sent into the province [Bithynia] by the emperor CÆSAR NERVA TRAJAN AVGVSTVS.”

During the reign of AUGUSTUS, the Asiatic provinces were allotted, as DION CASSIVS informs us, to the people. But succeeding emperors, upon the misbehaviour of the proconsuls, assumed those provinces to their own choice. Thus the governors of Bithynia and Pontus were under the ap-

^d ROSIN. Antiq. lib. 7. cap. 42.

pointment of TRAJAN himself, and for that reason were not entitled proconsuls.

E P I S T L E LXIV.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

THE *Prusenses*, Sir, have a bath, that is old From Prusa. and ruinous: with your permission, they are near the river Hippius. desirous to repair it. You may grant their request, as A. U. C. 856. I am entirely of opinion, that it ought to be rebuilt. TRAJAN. 7. There will be money for this purpose: first, from the sums, which I have begun to levy, and call in from private persons: then again, as the *Prusenses* will apply the money, which they used to expend upon oils, to the edifice itself: the beauty of the city, and the glory of your reign, are additional motives to the work.

E P I S T L E LXV.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

IF the public funds of the *Prusenses* will not be From Rome. over-burdened by building a bath, I am willing to A. U. C. 856. indulge their request with this restriction, not to raise TRAJAN. 7. any new contributions, nor to lessen for the time to come, the necessary expences of their state.

E P I S T L E LXVI.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

WHILE I was searching for a situation to build From Prusa. the bath, which you have permitted in this near the river Hippius. city, I was particularly pleased with a spot of ground, A. U. C. 856. where was formerly, I am told, a very beautiful house; TRAJAN. 7. the ruins of which now disfigure the whole place. These

These ruins might be of advantage to the city, as this most unsightly part of it may now be ornamented and enlarged; nor is it necessary to take away any buildings, but only to repair such, as have been demolished by time.

The particulars relating to the house are these: **CLAUDIUS POLYÆNUS** left it as a legacy to **CLAUDIUS CÆSAR**, ordering a temple to be dedicated to the emperor in a court surrounded by a colonade, and the rest of the house to be left, the income of which, for a long time, accrued to the city: but afterwards being partly plundered, and partly neglected, the whole house and the colonade fell into decay: so that scarce any of it remains, except the ground itself. The *Prusenses*, Sir, will acknowledge it as a particular favour, if you give them this piece of ground, or allow them, as it is so convenient, to purchase it.

My design is, Sir, with your permission, to place the bath in the vacant court: and to surround it, where the old building stood, with seats and galleries; to consecrate it to you, the benefactor of so elegant a work, and to make it worthy of your name.

I have sent you an imperfect copy of the will*, by which you will see, that **POLYÆNUS** left a great deal of furniture in the house; all which is lost, with the house itself: however, I shall make as much enquiry as I can to recover it.

* Of **CLAUDIUS POLYÆNUS**.

EPISTLE LXVII.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

I AM willing, that the court and house at *Prusa*, which you mention to be vacant, should be applied to the use of the bath. But you have not sufficiently explained one circumstance; whether the temple

temple in the colonade, dedicated to CLAUDIUS, was entirely finished? For if that temple was ever built, although it is almost fallen into ruins, the ground must still remain sacred to him.

OBSERVATIONS.

It seems very evident, that the two last letters from PLINY to TRAJAN were written from *Prusa*, a town in *Bithynia*, upon the river *Hippius*. PLINY begins the sixty sixth epistle, *Quærenti mihi ubi posset balineum*: "Whilst I was endeavouring to chuse a proper place, where I might build a public bath." Every sentence in the epistle proves him to be upon the spot. We may now therefore suppose him to have begun his progress into the province. His epistles will regularly carry us through several towns on the Euxine shore: and although many of his letters are probably lost, yet those, which are extant, will prove his return to *Nicomedia*, thorough part of *Pontus*, and the inland country of *Bithynia*.

In the sixty fifth epistle appears the emperor's œconomy: in the sixty seventh his piety. In the former, he fears to overburden the people of *Prusa* with taxes; in the latter, he pays a religious reverence to sacred ground.

EPISTLE LXVIII.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

THE theatre of *Nicea*, Sir, the greatest part of which is built, but the whole not entirely finished, has already cost, as I hear, (the total amount is not yet exactly calculated) above ten millions of sesterces^f: An expence, which I am apprehensive will be fruitless. For the building has sunk, and in many parts of it is cracked. Whether these defects proceed from the softness and humidity of the ground, or whether the stone itself is gritty and mouldering,

From
Claudiopolis.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

^b Equal to 80729 l. 3 s. 4 d.

is

is not certain: but undoubtedly it is a point worthy of deliberation, to consider, whether the edifice is to be finished, or to remain in the state, in which it is? or whether it ought to be taken down? For the props and buttresses, which in many places support it, appear to me not to be so firm, as they are sumptuous.

Several private persons having engaged to build different parts of this theatre, the galleries and porticos over the pit remain unfinished; as the principal building, which ought first to be compleated, is, at present, entirely at a stop.

The public place of exercise & having been destroyed by fire, some time before my arrival, the citizens of *Nicea* have also undertaken to repair it in a more capacious and extensive manner than before; and have disbursed money, but I am afraid to little purpose, as the structure itself is irregular, and disproportioned. Besides, the present architect (he is indeed the rival of the person, who began the work) affirms, that the walls, although two and twenty feet in thickness, are not strong enough for the weight, which they are to support; the quantity of mortar in the middle part being insufficient, and the brick-work not well put together.

The citizens of *Claudiopolis* have chosen so low a situation at the foot of a mountain, for a very large public bath, that the edifice seems rather sunk into the earth, than raised above the ground. The fund appropriated towards the expence of it is the entrance money already paid, or to be paid, whenever I call for it, by those supernumerary senators, whom your goodness has added to their senate. As I ought therefore to have a watchful eye over the public money, so I am to be particularly careful, that this money, arising from your favour, which is preferable to all sums whatever, may not be misapplied.*

* *Gymnasium.*

I must

I must entreat you to send hither an architect, not only to examine the state of the theatre, but of the baths; that we may know, whether it will be most prudent, after so much expence, to finish the whole works as they are begun; or only to repair such parts as seem to want reparation, or to alter the situation, if it is absolutely necessary to be altered? lest when we are endeavouring not absolutely to lose the sums already expended, we may lay out future sums to as ill a purpose.

EPISTLE LXIX.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

WHATEVER may be thought necessary From Rome. for the theatre, which the citizens of *Nicea* A. U. C. 856. are erecting, you will be best able to judge and to TRAJAN. determine, by going upon the spot. It will be sufficient for me to know your determination. 7.

As soon as the theatre is finished, for which the private subscriptions are promised, you will take care to collect those subscriptions. The *Greeks* are fond of places of exercise, and from thence perhaps the *Niceans*, in a spirit of emulation, have entered into such kind of undertakings. But they ought to be contented with edifices suitable to their own circumstances.

As you tell me, that the people of *Claudiopolis* have begun a bath in a very improper situation, you are to direct them in the method, which they ought to pursue. You cannot want architects: not a province is without men of experience and capacity in that art; nor would I have you imagine, that the shortest way is to send them to you from *Rome*, when they even come to us from *Greece*.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

Although the sixty eighth epistle begins with an account of a theatre building at *Nicea*, yet it was probably written at *Claudiopolis*, and I have dated it from thence. The expression, *ingens balineum defodiunt magis quam ædificant*, "they are sinking, rather than building a public bath," seems to favour this opinion. PLINY speaks of the bath, as of a work, which he has immediately under his eye: and he takes an opportunity in the same letter, to mention the absurdities and extravagance, of which the *Niceans* had been equally guilty with the people of *Claudiopolis*, in their public buildings. During his stay at *Nicea*, he might not have received sufficient information of the expence and difficulties attending the place of exercise, of which, perhaps, at that time, the foundations were only laid. *Huic theatro ex privatorum pollicitationibus multa debentur*, &c. "Many of the subscriptions promised by private persons towards finishing the theatre, are not yet paid in." He might possibly wait some months, to see if the subscriptions, which were promised, would take effect: but being disappointed in his expectations, he resolved to lay before the emperor two or three cases of the same kind, and thought each case of so much importance, as to require an architect from *Rome*.

But the chief reason for dating the letter from *Claudiopolis*, is the situation of that city. It lies eastward of *Prusa*, and seems to be in the road to *Amastris*.

EPISTLE LXX.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From
Amastris.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

THE city of the *Amastrians*, Sir, is very elegantly and finely built. On the side of the very longest street, reaching from one end to the other, is what they call a river, but what is in truth a common shore; the aspect of which is not only filthy and unsightly, but is also attended with a very pestilential smell. For these reasons, it is not less upon account of wholesomeness, than of decency, that

that the place should be covered. This shall be done, if you give leave: and it shall be my particular care, that money may not be wanting for so great and so necessary a work.

E P I S T L E LXXI.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

IT is very reasonable, my dearest SECUNDUS, that the water, which runs through the city *Amastris*, should be covered, if, by being uncovered, it endangers the health of the place. I am convinced you will take care, according to your usual exactness, that no money may be wanting for this work.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

OBSERVATIONS.

From PLINY's description of *Amastris*, we may be fully assured, that the epistle, which I have dated from that city, was written there. The city itself, we find, was finely built, and much ornamented; but the pride of the citizens is very evident, from their presumption in giving the ostentatious name of a river to a channel of filthy water, that deserved no other name than a ditch.

Amastris, in the time of PLINY, was a considerable city in *Paphlagonia*, lying upon the Euxine shore. It is now only an inconsiderable village belonging to the *Turks*, called *Amastro*, built upon the ruins of the ancient *Amastris*.

E P I S T L E LXXII.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

WATER is much wanted, Sir, in the city of *Sinope*. From the distance of sixteen miles, great abundance of excellent water might be brought to it. There is a spot of ground however, not above a thousand paces from the metropolis, which, as it is

From
Sinope
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

OBSERVATIONS.

Although the sixty eighth epistle begins with an account of a theatre building at *Nicea*, yet it was probably written at *Claudiopolis*, and I have dated it from thence. The expression, *ingens balineum defodiunt magis quam ædificant*, "they are sinking, rather than building a public bath," seems to favour this opinion. PLINY speaks of the bath, as of a work, which he has immediately under his eye: and he takes an opportunity in the same letter, to mention the absurdities and extravagance, of which the *Niceans* had been equally guilty with the people of *Claudiopolis*, in their public buildings. During his stay at *Nicea*, he might not have received sufficient information of the expence and difficulties attending the place of exercise, of which, perhaps, at that time, the foundations were only laid. *Huic theatro ex privatorum pollicitationibus multa debentur*, &c. "Many of the subscriptions promised by private persons towards finishing the theatre, are not yet paid in." He might possibly wait some months, to see if the subscriptions, which were promised, would take effect: but being disappointed in his expectations, he resolved to lay before the emperor two or three cases of the same kind, and thought each case of so much importance, as to require an architect from *Rome*.

But the chief reason for dating the letter from *Claudiopolis*, is the situation of that city. It lies eastward of *Prusa*, and seems to be in the road to *Amastris*.

EPISTLE LXX.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From
Amastris.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

THE city of the *Amastrians*, Sir, is very elegantly and finely built. On the side of the very longest street, reaching from one end to the other, is what they call a river, but what is in truth a common shore; the aspect of which is not only filthy and unsightly, but is also attended with a very pestilential smell. For these reasons, it is not less upon account of wholesomeness, than of decency, that

that the place should be covered. This shall be done, if you give leave : and it shall be my particular care, that money may not be wanting for so great and so necessary a work.

E P I S T L E LXXI.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

IT is very reasonable, my dearest SECUNDUS, that the water, which runs through the city *Amastris*, should be covered, if, by being uncovered, it endangers the health of the place. I am convinced you will take care, according to your usual exactness, that no money may be wanting for this work.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

From PLINY's description of *Amastris*, we may be fully assured, that the epistle, which I have dated from that city, was written there. The city itself, we find, was finely built, and much ornamented ; but the pride of the citizens is very evident, from their presumption in giving the ostentatious name of a river to a channel of filthy water, that deserved no other name than a ditch.

Amastris, in the time of PLINY, was a considerable city in *Paphlagonia*, lying upon the Euxine shore. It is now only an inconsiderable village belonging to the *Turks*, called *Amastro*, built upon the ruins of the ancient *Amastris*.

E P I S T L E LXXII.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

WA T E R is much wanted, Sir, in the city of *Sinope*. From the distance of sixteen miles, great abundance of excellent water might be brought to it. There is a spot of ground however, not above a thousand paces from the metropolis, which, as it is

From
Sinope
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

a spongy ground, appears likely to contain a spring. I have ordered some small expence to be laid out in examining, whether the place itself be sufficiently proper for an aqueduct. I have taken care, that money shall not be deficient, in case, Sir, that a work of this kind, which will at once be salutiferous and ornamental to the city, shall meet with your approbation.

EPISTLE LXXIII.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From Rome.

A. U. C.

856.

TRAJAN.

7.

AS you have begun, my dearest SECUNDUS, still continue to enquire most minutely, whether that particular place, which you say appears likely, can properly sustain the edifice of an aqueduct. I cannot hesitate a moment in thinking, that it is absolutely necessary to bring water to the colony of *Sinope*: and if possible, it should be done by themselves, as being a circumstance, that will conduce so effectually to the health and pleasure of the city.

OBSERVATIONS.

Sinope, in *Paphlagonia*, lyes at a considerable distance eastward from *Amastris*. It is placed on a peninsula in the *Euxine* sea. If we look into the fabulous part of history, we must suppose it to have been built by *SINOPE*, the daughter of *ASOPUS*, who is thus mentioned by *VALERIUS FLACCUS*;

*alta Carambis.**Raditur, et magnæ pelago tremit umbra Sinopes.**Affyrios complexa sinus stat opima Sinope;**Nympha prius, blandosque Jovis quæ luserat ignes,*
Cælicolis immota procis^a.^a VAL. FLACCUS, lib. 5. v. 108.

- " Our vessel passes by *Carambis* heights,
 " Where *Sinope* o'er shades the subject sea :
 " Whose fertile soil contains th' *Affyrian* bay.
 " E'rft was she a coy nymph, who mock'd the loves
 " Of *Jove* himself enamour'd with her charms."

STRABO tells us, that *Sinope* was built by the *Milesians*; and mentions two noble ports jetting out upon the Isthmus towards the Euxine sea. It was rendered particularly famous, by being the birth place of *DIPHILUS* the comedian, and *DIOGENES* the cynic. In the time when it belonged to the Christians it was a bishop's see, under the archbishop of *Amasia*. In the time of *PLINY* it was a Roman colony.

E P I S T L E LXXIV.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

I Have lately received a letter, Sir, from *APULEIUS*, an officer, who is quartered in *Nicomedia*, to inform me, that a person, named *CALLIDROMUS*, having been arrested by *MAXIMUS* and *DIONYSIUS*, bakers by trade, in whose service he had engaged himself, ran for protection to your statue : and that when he was brought before the magistrates, he declared, that he had formerly been a slave to *LABERIUS MAXIMUS*, but was taken prisoner by *SUSAGUS* in *Mæsia*, and was afterwards sent, as a present, from *DECEBALUS* to *PACORUS*, king of the *Parthians*, whom he continued to serve many years, but at length made his escape to *Nicomedia*. When he was brought before me, and had repeated all these particulars, I thought it proper to send him to you : but I deferred his journey, till I had enquired strictly after a certain gem, which, as he affirms, has been stolen from him, and on which is engraven the figure of *PACORUS*, in his regal ornaments. I was very desirous, that the gem, if it could have been found, might have accompanied a little piece of ore, which I now send

From
Sinope.
 A. U. C.
 856.
 TRAJAN.
 7.

you, and which, he says, he brought out of the mines of *Parthia*. It is sealed with my ring; the impression of which is a chariot drawn by four horses.

OBSERVATIONS.

PLINY, by the expression, *APULEIUS, qui est in statione Nicomedensi*, "APULEIUS, who is stationed at *Nicomedia*," must have been at a distance from *Nicomedia*, at the time when he received the letter from APULEIUS. I have dated his epistle to TRAJAN from *Sinope*, for no other reason than the probability. that he might reside some time in that city, to receive the emperor's orders^a, and to see whether the spongy ground, in which he expected to find a spring, had the desired effect.

The answer from TRAJAN to this epistle is not extant; so that we are at a loss to know, whether he thought the imperial rights infringed and violated, by the seeming outrage committed on CALLIDROMUS. The statues of the *Roman* emperors were sacred as altars. The CÆSARS, even in their life time, were looked upon as demigods. The magistrates of *Nicomedia*, by the turn of PLINY's epistle, seem to have obliged CALLIDROMUS to quit his sanctuary, and subject himself to the lawful arrest of MAXIMUS and DIONYSIUS. Curiosity therefore would make us wish to be informed of the emperor's behaviour on this occasion: but from the general turn of his mind and disposition, we may presume, that all acts of justice met with his approbation and applause.

^a The emperor's directions are signified to PLINY in the seventy third epistle, but that letter might not be arrived at *Sinope*, at the time when PLINY sent away CALLIDROMUS.

EPISTLE LXXV.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From
Amisus.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.

THE free and confederate city of the *Amiseni* has been permitted, by your indulgence, to make use of their own laws: in consequence of which, they

they have delivered to me a memorial concerning a common fund, established by themselves for charitable uses. With this letter I send to you the memorial, from whence, Sir, you will judge, what sum, and how long you will allow such a fund, or whether you will think it proper to permit, or prohibit such a contribution.

EPISTLE LXXVI.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

I Have received the memorial of the *Amiseni* sub-joined to your letter. If such a common fund, to be applied to charitable uses, is consistent with their own laws, we cannot by any means invade their privileges, especially if the fund be not applied towards riots, and illegal assemblies, but towards the maintenance only of indigent persons.

From Rome:
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

In all other cities, which are subject to our own laws, grants of this kind are not to be permitted.

EPISTLE LXXVII.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

THE solicitor, Sir, to the treasury of the *Amiseni* has claimed a sum, amounting to about forty thousand *denarii* *, a gift from the public to JULIUS PISO, above twenty years ago, by the unanimous consent of the senate, and the body of the people.

From
Amisus.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

The claim has arisen from the prohibition, which exists by your edicts, against all gifts of this kind. On the other hand, PISO, in defence of himself, affirmed, that he had ever been extremely liberal to

* Equal to 1291 l. 13 s. 4 d.

the republic, and had thereby almost expended his whole estate. He farther added, that a great length of time had elapsed since the donation, and he entreated, that a present, which he had received so long since, and for so many real services, might not be recalled, to the utter ruin of his remaining honours. For these reasons, Sir, I thought fit to adjourn this cause, till I had consulted you in the method, which ought to be pursued.

EPISTLE LXXVIII.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

THOUGH donations out of the public treasury are absolutely prohibited by my edicts; yet in order not to overthrow the settlements of particular persons, it is not proper to make a revocation of such gifts, as have been established by length of time. And therefore, let us not unravel the transactions of this kind, which may have passed above twenty years ago. For I am determined not to be more provident of the public money, than of the private property of the several citizens of every place whatever.

OBSERVATIONS.

Amisus, from whence the seventy fifth and seventy seventh epistles are dated, is a city of *Pontus*, situated near to the Euxine shore. ARIANUS^a, who was a native of *Nicomedia*, says, *Ἀμισὸς πόλις Ἑλληνὶς Ἀθηναίων ἀποικία*. “*Amisus* is a city of *Greece*, and was a colony of the *Athenians*.” Like the other *Grecian* cities in *Asia*, it was originally free, but afterwards fell under the tyranny and oppression of the kings of *Pontus*, who, according to TULLY,

^a SUIDAS surnames him the young XENOPHON, and adds, that his great erudition raised him to the consulship. He lived in the time of ADRIAN.

had

had built sumptuous palaces at *Sinope*, and at *Amisus* ^b. The defeat of MITHRIDATES by LUCULLUS ^c, delivered the *Amiseni* from the tyranny of the *Pontic* kings, and put them entirely under subjection to the *Romans*, by whom they were restored to their original liberty, and to the establishment of their own laws. However, it is plain from an expression in PLINY's epistle ^d, that the enjoyment of this liberty depended upon the will and pleasure of the *Roman* emperors. *Beneficio indulgentiæ tuæ legibus suis utitur*: "by your indulgence, Sir, they have the benefit of their own laws."

It is more than probable, from PLINY's epistle, and from TRAJAN's answer ^e, that the *erani* ["contributions raised on the public on a charitable account, towards the maintenance of persons, who were fallen inevitably under misfortunes,"] had been very much abused and misapplied: A fate, to which public charities are too often liable.

The seventy seventh epistle, which is so placed, because it bears reference to these [*erani*] public contributions, has in it some difficulties. A paraphrastical manner of treating the whole letter may clear them, perhaps, better than any other method.

"The solicitor, Sir, to the treasury of the *Amiseni* has made a demand upon JULIUS PISO of forty thousand *denarii*. This sum of money was given to PISO above twenty years ago, out of the fund allotted for public charities, and it was given to him by the consent of the senate and people of *Amisus*."

"The claim from the solicitor is founded upon your imperial mandates, which recall all past, and prohibit all future donations of this kind."

^b *Sinopen atque Amisum, quibus in oppidis erant domicilia regis, omnibusque rebus ornata, atque referta.* CICERO pro Lege Manil. cap. 8.

^c The city of *Amisus* held out some time against the *Romans*, under the conduct of CALLIMACHUS, governor of the place. It was reduced by LUCULLUS, who shewed great lenity to the inhabitants. They met with no less indulgence afterwards from JULIUS CÆSAR. So that this city was always looked upon by the *Romans*, as a place of importance, and worthy to be preserved.

^d Epistle 75.

^e Epistle 78.

" PISO, in defence of himself, alledged, that his fortune
 " had been ever employed, and his whole income in a man-
 " ner expended in the cause of the commonwealth. He
 " farther desired, that we would impartially consider the
 " length of time, which has past, since he received the do-
 " nation. And he also insisted, that a sum of money,
 " given to him so long ago, for services of a public nature,
 " ought not now to be refunded, since that very sum had en-
 " abled him to rise to those public honours, and to support
 " that public station, which he now enjoys. Honours,
 " which were indeed the last and only remains of his for-
 " tune: so that when he was no longer able to support his
 " dignity, from that moment he must be absolutely undone.
 " His reasons appeared sufficiently powerful to hinder
 " me from coming to any final determination in the cause,
 " till I had received, Sir, your commands, in what man-
 " ner I ought to proceed."

EPISTLE LXXIX.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From
Julio-polis.
 A. U. C.
 856.
 TRAJAN.
 7.

IN giving your orders, Sir, to so eminent a man
 as CALPURNIUS MACER, to send a legionary cen-
 turion to *Byzantium*, you have acted with all imagin-
 able prudence. Consider, whether from the same
 motive, you will not think proper to send a centu-
 rion to the citizens of *Julio-polis*. Their city, al-
 though it is small, sustains very great charges: and
 the less able they are to resist oppression, the greater
 injuries they are obliged to undergo. Whatever in-
 dulgence you think proper to shew to the inhabitants
 of *Julio-polis*, it must be of benefit to the whole pro-
 vince. *Julio-polis* is placed at the entrance into *Bitby-*
nia, and is the constant passage for most travellers,
 who come into this country.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE LXXX.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

THE citizens of *Byzantium* are in such a situa-
 tion, by the concurrence of people, who are con-
 tinually coming thither from all parts, that I thought
 it would be a right measure, and consistent with the
 customs of former times, to send a legionary centu-
 rion to preserve the privileges of that state. But, if
 the same sort of protection was to be granted to *Ju-*
liopolis, it would create a very troublesome prece-
 dent. Many other cities would require the same in-
 dulgence, and the weaker those cities were, with the
 more reason might they make the demand.

From Rome.
 A. U. C.
 856.
 TRAJAN.
 7.

I have that confidence in your care, that I am
 firmly of opinion, you will not suffer any step to be
 taken, that can possibly injure the citizens.

If any persons behave themselves contrary to the
 rules of my government, they may be imprisoned.

Or if they are guilty of greater outrages, they
 may be immediately punished.

If soldiers are the transgressors, let their officers
 know the particulars of their offence.

If the offenders are preparing to return towards
Rome, write a letter to advertise me of their ap-
 proach.

OBSERVATIONS.

Amisus, being the most eastern part of PLINY's progress,
 at least as appears from any of his epistles, the next place,
 where we can fix his residence, is *Juliopolis*. PLINY seems
 now upon his return from *Pontus* to *Bithynia*; and he prob-
 ably passed through part of *Paphlagonia* and *Gallogrecia* to
Juliopolis, which I have already observed ^a bears the name

^a In the preface to the tenth book.

PLINY'S EPISTLES.

of *Gordiu-come*. LIVY calls it *Gordiutichos*, "the wall of *Gordius*." STRABO says, it was a small village called *Gordius*, but was enlarged, and made a city by CLEON^b, who gave it the name of *Juliopolis*^c.

TRAJAN's answer^d is extremely fine. I have distinguished it therefore by different paragraphs. Throughout the epistle there is a style of magnificence, becoming an emperor; a brevity, becoming a man of sense; a regard to justice, becoming a sovereign; and a tenderness, becoming the father of his people.

^b A captain of a band of robbers.

^c STRABO mentions this fact, as happening in his own time. He lived in the reigns of AUGUSTUS and TIBERIUS.

^d Epistle 80.

EPISTLE LXXXI.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From
Apamea.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

WHEN I attempted, Sir, to enquire into the state of *Apamea*, the debts due to that republic, its revenue and expences, I was answered, "No-thing could be more universally acceptable to the people, than that the accounts of the whole colony should be settled by me; but as yet, the public accounts had never been submitted to any proconsul: and the *Apameans* had a privilege, supported by very ancient custom, of regulating their own common-wealth in the manner, which they thought proper." I insisted, that the several facts, which they alledged and repeated, should be drawn up into a memorial, which I have now sent to you exactly in the same form, that I received it; although I have observed it in several additional allegations, not pertinent to the present disquisition. I entreat, Sir, that you will do me the honour to instruct me what method to pursue; for I am apprehensive of appearing either to have exceeded, or not to have fulfilled the duties of my employment.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE LXXXII.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

THE memorial of the citizens of *Apamea*,
 which was annexed to your letter, has excused
 me from the necessity of examining into the reasons,
 why the consuls, who have formerly been governors
 of your province, did not inspect into their public
 revenues, since by that memorial, they are willing
 to submit their accounts to your inspection. Their
 candour therefore ought to be rewarded: let them
 know then, that as I have directed you to examine
 their accounts, so I give those orders, with an entire
 reserve to the several privileges, which they have a
 right to enjoy.

From Rome.
 A. U. C.
 856.
 TRAJAN.
 7.

OBSERVATIONS.

Apamea^a, from whence PLINY's eighty first letter was dated, is situated upon the *Propontis*, near the river *Rhyn-dacus*. It was built by MYRLUS, a general of the *Colo-phonians*; and from him called *Myrlea*. The privileges of this city seem to have been extraordinary; since it appears by PLINY's epistle, that the public accounts of *Apamea* had never been subjected to those persons, who had acted in the characters of proconsuls. The emperor, on his part, appears generously careful, that the *Apameans* shall not be deprived of whatever rights or privileges they ought legally to enjoy.

This is the last of PLINY's epistles, that can be dated at any distance from *Nicomedia*.

^a This city assumed the name of *Apamea*, from APAMA, wife of PRUSIAS, king of *Bithynia*. The *Turks* call it *Ajami*.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE LXXXIII.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

WHILE I have been going round the distant parts of this province, a great fire has happened in *Nicomedia*: it has destroyed many private houses, and two of the public buildings; the senate-house, and the temple of *Isis*, although the high road lay between them. It would scarce have spread so far, had it not been assisted by the violence of the wind, and by the stupidity of the people, who manifestly stood idle, and motionless spectators, during the scene of so dreadful a calamity. On the other hand, there is not in the whole city, either an engine to throw up water, or a single bucket, or any other instrument whatever to extinguish fire: but by the immediate orders, which I have given, preparations of this sort will not be wanting for the time to come.

You will consider, Sir, whether a corporation of firemen, not exceeding one hundred and fifty, should not be established in this city. I will take care, that no workmen shall be received into the society, except those, who are proper; nor shall the institution be perverted to any other use. So small a number of men may be kept under due regulation, without any difficulty.

EPISTLE LXXXIV.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From *Rome.*
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

I Find you are of opinion, that after the examples of several other cities, a corporation of firemen may be established at *Nicomedia*. But let us remember, that those cities, and this particular province,

vince^a, have been much disquieted by such sort of communities. Whatever name we give these societies, or from whatever cause they may be instituted, the several members will not fail to form factious assemblies, although perhaps those assemblies may not be of any long duration. It will be more eligible therefore, to make all possible preparations for extinguishing fire, to admonish the owners of the houses to be particularly careful in preventing such misfortunes, and to employ all the people, who present themselves as spectators, whenever the occasion shall require their assistance.

OBSERVATIONS.

The first sentence in the eighty second epistle lets us know, that PLINY had made a progress into the provinces of *Bithynia* and *Pontus*. That progress is now compleated, and he is returned to *Nicomedia*, where a fire had happened in the proconsul's absence, sufficiently terrible to make him join with the inhabitants, in proposing every expedient, that could be devised, to prevent, or at least to mitigate all future misfortunes of that kind. With this view he proposes to the emperor, that "a company of firemen," [*collegium fabrorum*] should be incorporated at *Nicomedia*: and he enforces his proposal by alledging, that the inhabitants had been of little or no use, in endeavouring to stop so dreadful a calamity.

The emperor rejects the proposal, having observed, that incorporated societies [*Hetæriæ*^b] had been frequently of dangerous consequence to the state. Under the pretence of meeting to consult, and settle the affairs of their corporations, they had opportunities of forming private designs against the government, and insurrections had too often been the consequence of such assemblies. In provinces so distant, and so powerful as *Bithynia*, the *Roman* emperors had great reason to dread confederacies of every sort: and TRAJAN seems to think, that the best method of punishing high treason, is to prevent it.

^a *Bithynia*.

^b The word is derived from *ἑταῖρια*, *Familiaritas et concordia* *sedalium inter se*.

In every answer, which the emperor returns to PLINY's epistles, he shews his sagacity and his goodness. Where PLINY's request is personal, it is certainly granted. But in orders relating to the government of the provinces, he sometimes grants, and sometimes denies the request. His grants are attended with a politeness, that enhances their value: his denials are the effect of justice, wisdom, and policy.

EPISTLE LXXXV.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

DURING the whole time, Sir, that MAXIMUS your freedman, and one of the officers of your household ^a staid with me, I observed in him great integrity, industry, and diligence; a perfect attachment to your particular affairs; and a remarkable exactness in discipline. I most willingly give you my testimony in his favour, and give it with that fidelity, which I owe to you.

OBSERVATIONS.

It is of little consequence where this letter is placed, but the surmise is allowable, that MAXIMUS, who is mentioned by PLINY in the eighteenth epistle, had attended the proconsul in his late progress, and was now returning to give TRAJAN an account of the *Asiatic* provinces ^b, and to particularize the several transactions, that had passed, in consequence of those orders, which PLINY had received from the emperor. By the expression, *disciplinæ tenacissimum expertus*, "I found him most strictly exact in discipline," we may presume, that MAXIMUS was a soldier.

^a *Procurator*. See observations on epistle 31. book 6. page 84.

^b *Bithynia* and *Pontus*.

EPISTLE LXXXVI.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

HAVING required from the citizens of *Byzantium* a state of their public expences, I observed, that the accounts ran very high. One article appeared to me, Sir, of twelve thousand sesterces^a disbursed annually to an embassador, who was sent to pay homage to you in their name, and to carry with him their decree for that purpose. As I never fail to remember your general instructions, I have thought it necessary to stop the embassador, and only to send the decree; that at the same time, when the expence was saved to the republic, their duty to you might be fully performed.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

A tax of three thousand sesterces^a has been also levied upon that city, to discharge a complimentary embassy, sent annually to the governor of *Mæsia*. I thought it proper to strike off the expence for the future.

Permit me, Sir, to expect your sentiments by your answer, in which you will do me the honour, either to approve of my measures, or to extricate me from my error.

^a The sums mentioned in the original, *duodena nummorum millia*, and *terna millia* [*sestertia*, the great sesterces, are understood] appear so considerable, that I have not ventured in this place to render them into English money, suspecting that PLINY means the *sestertii*, or lesser sesterces.

EPISTLE LXXXVII.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

YOU have acted perfectly right, my dearest SECUNDUS, in saving twelve thousand sesterces, paid by the citizens of *Byzantium* for an embassy of homage to me. Their duty will be sufficiently performed, if, by your means they only convey to me a decree of their homage: and the governor of *Mæsia* shall be content with an acknowledgment from them, if they offer it in a much less expensive manner.

OBSERVATIONS.

The eighty sixth epistle is the only letter from PLINY, which mentions the city of *Byzantium*, now *Constantinople*. PLINY had proconsular power over the republic of the *Byzantines*; but no hint can be drawn from any of his letters, that he ever crossed the *Thracian Bosphorus*, or resided at *Byzantium*. On the contrary, the expression *requirenti mihi*, &c. seems to infer, that he sent to the *Byzantines* for the accounts of their annual expences.

Byzantium, in the time of CONSTANTINE the Great, became the seat of the *Roman* empire: but in the time of TRAJAN, it does not appear to have been a city of any great consequence. It was tributary, we find, to the governor of *Mæsia*: and although the emperor declares himself willing to lessen the exorbitance of the tribute; yet he still insists, that an annual acknowledgment shall be continued.

E P I S T L E LXXXVIII.

P L I N Y to T R A J A N.

THE Pompeian law, Sir, which prevails in *Bitbynià* and *Pontus*, has not enjoined those, who are chosen into the senate by the censors, to pay money for their admission. But such, who, by your indulgence, have been admitted in particular cities over and above the limited number of senators, have each brought in one, or two thousand *denarii*^a. In consequence of which custom, the proconsul ANICIUS MAXIMUS ordered, that even those, who were elected by the censors, should be obliged to pay different sums of money, more or less, upon the occasion. This order extended only to some few particular cities. It is necessary therefore, that you should consider, whether for the future, the persons, who are chosen senators, shall be obliged, throughout all the cities of these provinces, to pay a certain affixed sum of money for their admission. For certainly laws, which are to remain for ever, ought to be decreed by you, because eternity itself waits upon all your words and actions.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

^a Two thousand *denarii* are equal to 64 *l.* 11 *s.* 8 *d.*

E P I S T L E LXXXIX.

T R A J A N to P L I N Y.

IT is impossible for me to establish any general law, whether all those, who are admitted as senators in the several cities of *Bitbynia*, ought to pay or not, for the honour of their admission. I think, that the safest method, which can be pursued, is to follow the particular laws of each city: and it is also my

From *Rome.*
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7. 1

opinion, that such, who are chosen senators against their inclination, ought, upon that account, to be taxed in a less proportion than others.

OBSERVATIONS.

The two preceding epistles give us an insight into the state of the *minor senatus* in *Bithynia* and *Pontus*. PLINY begins his letter by saying, "that the Pompeian law, which was prevalent in those two provinces, did not require the several senators, who were elected by the censors in the free towns, to pay a sum of money for their admission into the senate." He expresses himself thus, *Lex Pompeia, domine, qua Bithyni et Pontici utuntur, eos, qui in Bule a censoribus leguntur, dare pecuniam non jubet*. The word *Bule*ⁱ signifies the senate, or council of ten, who were called *civitatum patres curiales*, or *decuriones municipales*^k. They were also called *honorarii municipiorum senatores*. They were elected almost with the same ceremony as the senators of *Rome*. The election was made on the calends of March. The income, which entitled them to this honour, was to amount to two hundred and twenty five pounds a year^l: and except where the Pompeian law prevailed, each decurion, when chosen, was to pay a tribute to the whole body, which was equally divided among them all. Their court was called *curia decurionum*, and *minor senatus*.

The next sentence shews, that the emperor, when he thought proper, could augment their number; so that the court sometimes consisted of more than ten, *quos indulgentia tua quibusdam civitatibus super legitimum numerum adjicere permisit*: "Your indulgence has admitted some senators to be elected, above the stated and legitimate number."

Eos etiam qui a censoribus legerentur: "Even those, who were chosen senators by the censors." From hence we

ⁱ It is a Greek word, *Βουλῆ*, *ordo senatorius*, which PLINY seems to have latinised. He makes use of it in the 77th epistle of this book, where he says, *Bule et ecclesia consentiente*: "The senate and the body of the people giving their consent." In the 88th epistle he calls the senators *Buletae*.

^k See observations on ep. 8. book 1. page 32.

^l The censors kept an exact register of the name and estate of every person.

learn,

learn, that in the proconsular provinces the senators had a power of chusing the *decuriones municipales*. It does not appear from this epistle, whether they chose the whole number, or only such as were supernumerary. By the words *eos etiam* we may presume, that their choice was absolutely confined to the supernumerary members of the *bule*, or *minor senatus*.

TRAJAN'S answer to PLINY fully informs us, that the *decuriones*, or *buletæ*, were sometimes elected against their will: *inviti fiunt decuriones*. This hardship, (for such the emperor seems to think it,) was probably occasioned by the income of their estate, which, if it amounted to the sum requisite for the senatorial dignity, might involve them in honours, that they wished to avoid. TRAJAN, desirous to alleviate their situation, insists, that the proconsul^m shall not demand so high a taxation from them, as from any other senators.

^m The proportion of this tax seems to have been entirely in the power of the proconsul. ANICIUS MAXIMUS, PLINY'S predecessor, settled it as he pleased; and TRAJAN, in ep. 89, desires PLINY to lessen the taxation of those, who were senators by compulsion.

E P I S T L E XC.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

IT is enacted by the Pompeian law, which is in force among the *Bithynians*, that no person shall enter into any magistracy, or become a senator, till he has attained thirty years of age. The same law ordains, that those, who have acted as magistrates, may become members of the senate.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

AUGUSTUS afterwards published an edict, by which persons, at the age of two and twenty, were capable of enjoying the lower degrees of magistracy.

The question therefore arising from hence is, whether any person, who, under the age of thirty, has enjoyed the magistracy, may be chosen by the censors into the senate? And if he can, whether, in consequence of such a construction of that law, the per-

PLINY'S EPISTLES.

sons, who have not been magistrates, may be elected senators at the same age, that they might have been magistrates? This method is said to have been practised, and as yet to have been thought necessary, because it is much more eligible to elect the children of persons of high rank into the senate, rather than the children of plebeians.

When the censors were sent to ask my sentiments upon these points, I said, I was of opinion, that both by the edict of AUGUSTUS, and by the Pompeian law, the persons, who had been magistrates under the age of thirty, might be chosen senators; AUGUSTUS having permitted the enjoyment of the magistracy under the age of thirty, and the Pompeian law having allowed those, who had enjoyed the magistracy, to be elected into the senate. But I was as yet at a loss, in what manner to give my determination, as to those persons, who had attained the age of magistracy, but who had not been magistrates. This delay, Sir, occasions me to require your opinion upon the points. I send to you the heads of the Pompeian law, and the edict of AUGUSTUS, subjoined to this letter.

EPISTLE XCI.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
853.
TRAJAN.
7.

I Agree with you entirely, my dearest SECUNDUS, that the Pompeian law is repealed by the edict of AUGUSTUS, which having allowed persons to enjoy the magistracy at two and twenty years of age, has given them a right, after being magistrates, to become senators in any city: but I cannot think, that those persons, who have not been magistrates, and are under thirty years of age, are legally entitled to be senators in any place whatever.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

The two preceding epistles point out some particulars of the Pompeian law, which was in force in *Bithynia*; and they specify the edict of AUGUSTUS, in emendation or alteration of those particulars. TRAJAN gives his opinion, that the persons, who have not gone through the several offices of magistracy in their respective cities, cannot be entitled to the benefit allowed by AUGUSTUS, who decreed, that, at the age of two and twenty the duties of the magistracy might be undertaken by any of the provincials, who were qualified for offices of that kind: and as soon as those duties had been fully and properly executed, each person, who had performed them, might rise immediately from the magistracy to the senate, although he were not, as the law of POMPEY required, thirty years of age.

E P I S T L E XCII.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

THE Pompeian law, Sir, permits the *Bithynians* to give the rights of citizenship to any persons they please, on condition that they are not aliens, but natives of one of the cities in *Bithynia*. By the same law are established the several causes, for which the censors may expel any of the senators: but the law makes no mention of foreigners. From thence some of the censors have thought proper to consult me, whether they are authorised to expel a foreigner. It appeared to me absolutely necessary to know your directions, and to receive your commands upon this point: because the law, although it has forbidden an alien to be elected into the senate, yet it has not prohibited him from being degraded. Besides, many persons affirmed to me, that in every city in the province, a great number of the senators are foreigners: and consequently, that if this branch of the law should be revived, (as by common consent it has

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long since become obsolete) many cities, and many private families must be injured by it. To this letter I subjoin the chief heads of that law.

E P I S T L E X C I I I.

T R A J A N to P L I N Y.

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YOU have rightly postponed your answer, my dearest SECUNDUS, to the doubts expressed by the censors, whether they might elect into the senate, persons who were freemen in different cities, but in the same province. For the authority of the law itself, and the long continuance of custom against that law, were sufficient motives for an uncertainty in your opinion. The most moderate maxim, that I think can be followed, is not to make any innovation in the establishment, that has been already fixed. Let those remain, who have hitherto been chosen senators, although they were illegally elected, and are freemen of other cities. But for the future, let the Pompeian law be observed, although at present a retrospect to that law must necessarily occasion very great confusion.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

The power of the censors must have been much encreased since their first establishment. They were created in the year of *Rome* three hundred and eleven, under the consulship of M. GEGANIUS MACRINUS, and T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS. They seem at first to have been intended only as coadjutors to the consuls. *Consules non fuere tot ferendis oneribus pares. Itaque cum intermissa diu censio esset, causa exorta desiderandi novi magistratus, et senatu imprimis adnitente creati censores :* “ The consuls, says LIPSIVS, were “ not able to sustain so many burdens. And as the public “ valuation of the *Roman* estates had been omitted for a “ long time, the neglect gave sufficient occasion to desire “ the establishment of a new magistracy for that purpose: “ and

“ and at the instigation of the senate, the censors were created.” They were two in number; both Patricians; but nothing tended so effectually towards the immediate increase of their authority, as the original institution of possessing the censorship during five years.

All authors, who treat of this magistracy, seem to agree, that the censors had the power to expel any senator, whose morals and conduct appeared to them unworthy of the dignity, which he enjoyed.

LIPSIUS adds, *senatu ejicere, equum adimere, tribu movere, aerarios facere potuerunt*: “ They could expel the senators: they could take horses from the knights: they could remove the citizens from their several tribes, and divest them of their privileges.” From PLINY’s epistle it appears, that by the Pompeian law, the censorial power in the provinces of *Bithynia* and *Pontus* was equally great as at *Rome*: and that power, we find, was again confirmed by TRAJAN.

EPISTLE XCIV.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

MY wishes are, Sir, that you may pass this birth-day, and very many others, in the utmost felicity; the glory of your virtues, ever increasing with their praise; your health perfectly established, and your valour attended by a succession of noble exploits.

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EPISTLE XCV.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

I Acknowledge your wishes, my dearest SECUNDUS, by which you hope, that I may pass many birth-days in that high degree of happiness, which the flourishing state of the commonwealth must occasion.

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OBSERVATIONS.

The epistle from PLINY to TRAJAN may be dated with great exactness. It was written on the eighteenth of September.

This is the second anniversary of TRAJAN's birth, that was celebrated by PLINY in *Bithynia*. He arrived in the province ⁿ on the seventeenth of September in the last year, and thought the fatigue of the journey sufficiently recompensed by an arrival, which allowed him to make the first act of his proconsular government, the celebration of TRAJAN's birth-day.

ⁿ See epistle 18.

EPISTLE XCVI.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

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GABIUS BASSUS, Sir, is præfect upon the coast of *Pontica*. He is a man of great integrity, probity and industry, and among all those qualifications, I have found him perfectly devoted to me. I cannot therefore avoid exerting all the power and interest, which I may have with you in, his favour, but they are exerted with that fidelity, which is due from me towards you.

I have observed, that his skill in military affairs has taken rise from his having been an officer in your army: so that to your own discipline he owes the merit of deserving your distinction. The soldiers, and the lower classes of people within my jurisdiction, having often experienced his humanity and justice, shewed themselves emulously impatient to give their testimonies, both publicly and privately, of his virtues. These are particulars, which I recommend to your notice, with that fidelity, which is due from me to you.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

This is the second recommendatory letter in favour of **GABIUS BASSUS**. **PLINY**, during his stay in *Pontus*, had received many instances of Personal civility, and particular devotion from **BASSUS**.

In looking back to the forty fourth epistle of this book, we shall find, that the præfect of *Pontica* had behaved himself in such a manner, as to deserve the recommendation and esteem of **PLINY**, upon their first interview and conversation together at *Nicomedia*.

In that epistle, speaking of **BASSUS**, our author says, *Quantum perspicere potui, vir egregius, et indulgentia tua dignus*: “As far as I am able to discern, he is a most worthy man, highly deserving of your favour.” The words, *quantum perspicere possum*, imply a modest diffidence of himself. He is cautious of putting too great a reliance upon his own judgement and intuition.

The emperor, in the answer to that letter, takes little or no notice of **PLINY**'s recommendation, and rather gives a distant hint in disfavour of **BASSUS**, than otherwise. The expression, which allows such a surmise, runs thus: *Multum interest, reposit, an homines imperare latius velint*: “It is of great consequence to consider, whether the affairs of the province, or the ambition of particular persons, require a larger extent of power.” **PLINY**, probably alarmed at any jealousy or suspicion, which **TRAJAN** might have conceived against **BASSUS**, takes care to enforce and strengthen that character, which he had formerly given of him; and therefore, no longer writing in a style of diffidence, he begins his epistle by assuring the emperor, that **BASSUS** is a man of exceeding honesty and uprightness, and of no less application and industry. To these characteristics he adds the concurrent testimonies of those soldiers and people, who, before **PLINY**'s arrival in *Bithynia* and *Pontus*°, had enjoyed great happiness, arising from the humanity and justice of their præfect^p, **GABIUS BASSUS**.

° It may be presumed, that in the absence of the proconsul, or a legate with proconsular power, this præfect had the superior command in those provinces.

^p See the observations on epistle 7. page 336. and on epistle 25. page 361.

EPISTLE XCVII.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

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IT is, Sir, a rule, which I prescribe to myself, to consult you upon all difficult occasions. For who can better direct my doubts or instruct my ignorance? I have never been present at the resolutions taken concerning the Christians: therefore I know not for what causes, or how far they may be objects of punishment; or to what degree our complaints may be carried on against them. Nor have I hesitated a little in considering, whether the difference of ages should not make some variation in our procedures, or whether the weaker, and the more robust, should be equally punished. Are those, who repent, to be pardoned? Or is it to no purpose to renounce Christianity, after having once professed it? Must they be punished for the name, although otherwise innocent? Or is the name itself so flagitious, as to be punishable? In the mean time, I have pursued this method with those Christians, who, as such, have been brought before me. I have asked them, if they were Christians, and to those, who have avowed the profession, I have put the same question a second and a third time, and have enforced it by threats of punishment. When they have persevered, I have put my threats into execution. For I did not in the least doubt, that whatever their confession might be, their audacious behaviour, and immovable obstinacy required absolute punishment. Some, who were infected with the same kind of madness, but were *Roman* citizens, have been reserved by me to be sent to *Rome*.

Soon afterwards the crime, as it often happens, by being pursued, became more diffusive, and a variety of matters of fact were specified to me. An information

mation without a name was put into my hands, containing a list of many persons, who deny, that they are, or ever were Christians; for, repeating the form of invocation after me, they called upon the gods, and offered incense, and made libations to your image, which, upon this occasion, I had ordered to be brought out with the statues of our deities: and they uttered imprecations against CHRIST, to which no true Christian, as they affirm, can be compelled by any punishment whatever. I thought it best therefore to release them.

Others of them, who were named to me by an informer, have said, that they were Christians, and have immediately afterwards denied it, by confessing, that they had been of that persuasion, but had now entirely renounced the error; some three years; some more; and some even above twenty years. All these worshipped your image, and the images of the gods; and they even vented imprecations against CHRIST: they affirmed, that the sum total of their fault, or of their error, consisted in assembling upon a certain stated day before it was light, to sing alternately among themselves hymns to CHRIST, as to a God; binding themselves by oath, not to be guilty of any wickedness; not to steal, nor to rob; not to commit adultery, nor break their faith when plighted; nor to deny the deposits in their hands, whenever called upon to restore them. These ceremonies performed, they usually departed, and came together again to take a repast, the meat of which was innocent, and eaten promiscuously: but they had desisted from this custom since my edict, wherein, by your commands, I had prohibited all public assemblies.

From these circumstances, I thought it more necessary to try to gain the truth even by torture, from two women, who were said to officiate at their worship. But I could discover only an obstinate kind of super-

superstition, carried to great excess. And therefore postponing any resolution of my own, I have waited the result of your judgement. To me an affair of this sort seems worthy of your consideration, principally from the multitude involved in the danger. For many persons of all ages, of all degrees, and of both sexes, are already, and will be constantly brought into danger by these accusations. Nor is this superstitious contagion confined only to the cities, it spreads itself through the villages and the country. As yet, I think it may be stopped and corrected. It is very certain, that the temples, which were almost deserted, now begin to fill again; and the sacred rites, which have been a long time neglected, are again performed. The victims, which hitherto had few purchasers, are now sold every where. From hence we may easily infer, what numbers of people might be reclaimed, if there was a proper allowance made for repentance.

E P I S T L E XCVIII.

T R A J A N to P L I N Y.

From Rome.
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7.

YOU have exactly pursued the method, which you ought, my SECUNDUS, in examining the several causes of those persons, who, as Christians, were brought before you. For in an affair of this general nature, it is impossible to lay down any settled form. The Christians need not be sought after. If they are brought into your presence and convicted, they must be punished; but with this reservation, that if any one of them has denied himself to be a Christian, and makes his assertion manifest, by an invocation to our gods, although he may have been suspected before, his repentance must entitle him to a pardon. But anonymous informations ought not to have the least weight against any crime whatever. They

They would not only be of dangerous consequence, but are absolutely against the maxim of my government.

OBSERVATIONS.

The letter from **PLINY** to **TRAJAN** is mentioned by most authors, who have written historically of the Christian Church. It is an antient and undoubted record of that excellent system of morals, which the primitive Christians bound themselves by oath to observe: Morals, that tended to the good of society in general, and to the happiness of every particular state. The Christians were at this time become very numerous. They had undergone a severe persecution in the beginning of **TRAJAN**'s reign, and **PLINY** judiciously remarks, that persecutions tend rather to encrease, than to destroy the objects, which they pursue ^a. From hence he takes occasion, at the conclusion of his epistle, to hint to the emperor, that in all probability, less severe methods than had hitherto been practised, might give room for repentance, and might encourage the Christians to return to the worship of the gods.

Some parts of **PLINY**'s letter require a particular explanation. *Cum præunte me deos appellarent, et imagini tuæ thure ac vino supplicarent*: "They performed the holy ceremonies after me, by invoking the gods, and offering wine and incense at your statue." The expression, *præunte me*, signifies, that **PLINY** began, and repeated the ceremony of invocation; and he was followed in the repetition, by the persons, who had been accused as Christians. **PLINY** acted, in his sacerdotal character, as augur ^r upon this occasion. He performed the sacred rites in person, being resolved to encrease the solemnity, by his own appearance and example.

^a *Mox ipso tractet, ut fieri solet, diffundente se crimine, plures species inciderunt.*

^r **PLINY**, in the fifteenth epistle of this book, entreats the emperor to honour him with the office of augur, or of septemvir: and in the eighth epistle of the fourth book, he tells **ARRIANUS**, that, according to his wishes, he has succeeded his late friend, **JULIUS FRONTINUS**, in the augurship.

Secundum

Secundum mandata tua hetærias esse vetueram: “According to your commands, I have forbidden all public meetings.” The *hetæriæ*, as has been already observed ^f, were particularly disagreeable to TRAJAN: he looked upon them as dangerous to the state. The assemblies of the Christians went under this denomination. They associated privately in large numbers and even before day light. They bound themselves to the performance of their duty by an oath. Their meetings were constant and secret, and must have appeared sufficiently mysterious to alarm the Roman government: at least we cannot avoid wishing for some plausible excuse, to palliate a most barbarous action, that appears in the next paragraph.

Necessarium credidi ex duabus ancillis, quæ ministræ dicebantur, quid esset veri etiam per tormenta quærere: “I thought it necessary to gain the truth, even by putting to the torture two women, who were said to bear a part in their ceremonies.” This experiment seems to have been the very height of inhumanity: the sex, and the low condition of these bond-women, for such is the signification of *ancillæ*, ought to have defended them from insults, and punishments of every kind. Let us not carry on this thought any farther, lest we recollect instances, where Christian zeal has outdone pagan cruelty, and where Christian priests have appeared more like the blood-hounds of hell, than the servants, or ambassadors of the Prince of peace.

The *ministræ* here mentioned are generally thought to have been deaconesses, of whom the following account will be a sufficient explanation. “The apostles, as they ordained deacons to assist the bishops and priests at divine service, so they likewise set up the office of deaconesses, who, notwithstanding they had no clerical ordination, were called deaconesses, upon account of the services they performed. Widows were commonly pitched upon for this purpose; and in the first ages of Christianity, they were not taken into this office till sixty years old. The words of St. PAUL [†], *Let not a widow be taken into the number, under threescore years old*, are supposed to relate to these deaconesses [‡].”

^f See observations on epistle 84. p 413.

[†] 1 Timothy, chap. v. verse 9.

[‡] Age might have pleaded in defence of the unhappy *ancillæ*: but no circumstance was sufficiently strong to stem the torrent of religion.

Notwithstanding the detestation of Christianity, which PLINY expresses in this epistle^w, the legendary authors have thought it worth their pains to convert him soon afterwards by a miracle. The story needs no other confutation, than to be related. “ PLINY the younger returning from his province of *Bitthynia*, landed in *Crete*, where the emperor had commanded him to erect a temple to JUPITER. “ When the temple was compleated, St. TITUS cursed it, “ and the building immediately tumbled to the ground. “ PLINY, astonished at the sight, applied with tears to St. TITUS, for his counsel and assistance: the saint ordered “ him to begin it in the name of the God of the Christians: “ he did so, and having finished it, was himself, together “ with HIS SON, baptised^x.”

In TRAJAN's answer^y, nothing can more redound to his honour, than his positive commands to PLINY, not to receive informations without a name, nor give the least encouragement to informers. “ Such a procedure, says he, “ must be of pernicious consequence, and particularly unbecoming the candour and justice of my reign.”

Conquirendi non sunt: “ The Christians need not officiously be sought after.” This order is in the style of compassion and good nature. It almost makes us imagine, that the emperor was, in some measure, repentant of his former persecutions. The legendary writers, in gratitude probably for this instance of mildness, after having sent TRAJAN's soul to hell, have generously delivered it from thence, by the prayers of St. GREGORY the great.

^w He calls it *amentia, superstitio prava et immodica*: and the proposal, which he makes to the emperor, to give room to the Christians for repentance, seems rather an act of policy, than of good nature.

^x See CAVE's life of St. TITUS.

^y Epistle 98.

E P I S T L E XCIX.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

SEVERAL persons have petitioned me to indulge them, with the permission granted by former proconsuls, of removing the ashes of their ancestors,

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cestors, which have been damaged by time, by inundation of rivers, or by other accidents of that kind. As I know, that at *Rome* the custom is to apply to the college of high-priests upon these occasions, I thought it requisite to receive from you, Sir, the sovereign of that college, the directions, which you would have me follow.

EPISTLE C.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From *Rome*.
A. U. C.
856.
TRAJAN.
7.

IT would be injurious to lay the provincials under a necessity of applying to the college of priests, whenever they were desirous, upon justifiable reasons, to remove the ashes of their ancestors from one place to another. You ought rather to follow the example of former governors of your province, and to be directed by reason, either in granting or denying the petition of each particular person.

OBSERVATIONS.

The sepulchres of the antients were held in the greatest degree of sanctity and veneration. A paragraph in one of *TULLY*'s philippics ² is very relative to this point. *Majores quidem nostri statuas multis decreverunt; sepulchra paucis: sed statuæ intereunt tempestate, vi, vetustate; sepulchrorum autem sanctitas in ipso solo est, quod nulla vi moveri, neque deleri potest; atque ut cetera extinguuntur, sic sepulchra fiunt sanctiora vetustate:* "Our ancestors, says *CICERO*, decreed statues to many persons, sepulchres to few. But statues " perish by weather, by outrage, and by time: the ground, " where sepulchres are placed, is sacred; that cannot be " moved; that cannot be demolished by mischief. While " other things lose their sanctity by age, sepulchres by age " encrease it." The laws remained the same in the time of *PLINY*, as of *TULLY*. The ashes of the dead could never be

² *Philippica nona.*

removed, without the consent of the pontifical college; or, as may be inferred from PLINY's letter, without the approbation of the high-priest ^a.

A paragraph from ALEXANDER, in the *Geniales Dies* ^b, may serve as an explicit comment to PLINY's epistle. *Si cujus tamen ossa cineresque in alienum sepulchrum deferrentur, illa eruere loci dominus, et sine pontificum decreto alio transferre non poterat*: "If the bones, or the ashes of any person, were to be carried from one sepulchre into another, the owner of the ground could not remove, or transport them to any different repository, without a license from the pontifical college." The superstitious regard, which we are willing to have paid to our bodies after death, seems to have been universal to mankind, from the beginning of the world to this day.

^a *Te, Domine, maximum pontificem.*

^b Lib. 6. cap. 14.

EPISTLE CI.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

JULIUS LARGUS, Sir, of *Pontus*, a person whom I had never seen, and scarce had ever heard of, biaſſed by your judgement in my favour, has committed to me the care of his affairs, and has entrusted to my management the last instance of his devotion to you: for by his will he has left me heir to his estate, which he has entreated me to divide, taking to myself fifty thousand sesterces ^c, and giving all the remainder to the cities of *Heraclea* and *Tios*, leaving it to my option, whether the money shall be expended in public works, consecrated to your honour, or in public games, to be exercised every five years, and to be called the *Trajan games*. I thought proper to apprise you of these particulars, that you might direct me in my choice.

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^c Equal to 403 *l.* 12 *s.* 11 *d.*

EPISTLE CII.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From *Rome*.
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856.
TRAJAN.
7.

JULIUS LARGUS has reposed in you the same confidence, as if he had been perfectly acquainted with you. Consider therefore in what manner, suitable to the customs of each particular place, you may be able most effectually to perpetuate his memory; and follow whatever you shall judge to be the best determination.

OBSERVATIONS.

Not any letters in this whole collection can be more polite than the two last. PLINY begins his address to TRAJAN, by saying, "It is owing, Sir, to the high opinion, which JULIUS LARGUS, a native of *Pontus*, had conceived of your judgement, that he has not only bequeathed a legacy of fifty thousand sesterces, but has entrusted me with the application and direction of his whole estate. I was not even personally acquainted with LARGUS: but, as the strongest and last instance of his devotion to you, he has made choice of me, from an assurance, that he may rely on a person, whom you honour with your distinction. He has allotted the greatest part of his fortune to two *Pontic* cities on the *Euxine* shore, *Heraclea* and *Tios*, leaving it in my option, either to dispose of the money in public buildings, or in public games: if in the latter, they are to be performed every five years, and to be called *Trajan games*. My determination, Sir, must be guided by the particular orders, which you shall be pleased to send me."

The emperor's answer is to this purpose: "JULIUS LARGUS, my PLINY, has acted, as if he had been perfectly well acquainted with your virtues. Your part is to perpetuate his memory in such a manner, as may be suitable to the customs of *Tios* and *Heraclea*. These are my sentiments. Your own judgement will direct you, in what particular manner to proceed."

EPISTLE

E P I S T L E CIII.

P L I N Y to T R A J A N.

I Entreat you, Sir, to send me your instructions, in what manner the rights of the cities in *Bitbynthia* and *Pontus* must be adjusted, when debts due to their communities, either from letting houses, selling goods, or any other causes, are to be gathered in. I find, that many proconsuls have granted them the claim of first creditors: and that privilege has been of equal validity with a law. But it seems to be a point appropriated to your great wisdom, to consider and establish a fixed regulation, that may ascertain their rights for the future; for all former institutions, although ever so wisely founded, must be of a short duration, unless they are supported by your authority.

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E P I S T L E CIV.

T R A J A N to P L I N Y.

AS to the rights belonging to the several cities of *Bitbynthia* and *Pontus*, in demanding their debts, upon whatever account those debts may be due to the republic, the law of each city is to guide your determination. For, if the communities have the privilege of being placed as first creditors, that privilege must not be infringed: if they have no such right, I can by no means allow it, as it must prove detrimental to private persons.

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7.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

P L I N Y acts the part of a most dutiful, and a most prudent subject, by taking care, that all his procedures, and even the minutest orders, which he is to give in his government,

PLINY'S EPISTLES.

ment, shall be assured and sanctified, by the superior commands and directions of his imperial master. To this caution, and to the exactness of TRAJAN in his answers, we owe a knowledge of many of the laws, prevalent in the provinces under PLINY's authority. The two last epistles are examples of this assertion. By the first, we find, that in many cities of *Bithynia* and *Pontus* public communities had taken place, and had been looked upon as first creditors, in all cases of debt due to their societies. By the second, we find TRAJAN displeased with the custom, and prohibiting it for the future in all places, where it was not established as a law.

EPISTLE CV.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

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TRAJAN.
7.

HAVING been solicited, Sir, by P. ACCIUS AQUILA, a centurion in the sixth equestrian cohort, that I would transmit a memorial to you in favour of his daughter, I thought it difficult to deny his request, especially as I know, that your patience and humanity are never wearied in an attention to the petitions of your military subjects.

EPISTLE CVI.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From *Rome.*
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7.

I Have read the petition, which you sent me from P. ACCIUS AQUILA, a centurion in the sixth equestrian cohort: and being influenced by his solicitations, I have granted the rights of a *Roman* citizen to his daughter; and have sent you the patent, which you must give him.

OBSERVATIONS.

PLINY, in recommending the petition of P. ACCIUS AQUILA, genteely glances at TRAJAN's military character, and at that particular part of it, which must have rendered him perfectly

perfectly acceptable to the officers of his army, *durum putavi negare ; cum scirem quantam soleres militum precibus patientiam humanitatemque præstare*: “ It would have appeared an act “ of ill nature in me, says PLINY, to have denied AQUILA’s request, when I know so well, how unwearied you “ are in your attention, and how humane in your benevolence, to your military subjects.” Agreeable to this character of benevolence, TRAJAN, we perceive, immediately granted the rights of a *Roman* citizen to the daughter of P. ACCIUS AQUILA.

EPISTLE CVII.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

WE have acquitted ourselves, Sir, with the utmost joy and alacrity, of those vows, that we offered to heaven for you last year; and we have made new vows, at which the army and the provincials have joined with great devotion. We have implored the gods to preserve and prosper you and the republic, with that peculiar providence, which your great and numerous virtues, and particularly your remarkable piety have deserved.

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EPISTLE CVIII.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

YOUR letter, my dearest SECUNDUS, which informs me, that at the head of the army and the provincials, you have performed with most joyful unanimity your vows to the immortal gods, for my past and future prosperity, was very acceptable to me.

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OBSERVATIONS.

This is the second votive day celebrated by PLINY in *Bythynia*: and with this festival, on the third of January, we may begin the series of his epistles for the new year. PLINY,

PLINY'S EPISTLES.

as may be inferred from TRAJAN's answer, acted not only in the capacity of augur, but of governor or proconsul of the provinces. *Te præeunte*, "you were at the head of the " sacred rites: you performed them in person."

Cum provincialibus lætissimo consensu: "The provincials " shewing the greatest joy upon the occasion." Their joy was sincere. TRAJAN was honoured, and almost adored throughout the whole empire. So that after his death, the constant vow made on the *dies Cæsaris*, for each succeeding emperor, was, "That he might be more fortunate than " AUGUSTUS, more excellent than TRAJAN."

EPISTLE CIX.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
857.
TRAJAN.
8.

WE have celebrated, with due devotion, the day on which, by succession to the empire, the care of human kind devolved upon you, recommending our public vows and exhortations to the gods, who ordained your reign.

EPISTLE CX.

TRAJAN to PLINY,

From Rome.
A. U. C.
857.
TRAJAN.
8.

YOUR letter, my dearest SECUNDUS, which informs me, that at the head of the army and the provincials you have celebrated, with due joy and devotion, the day of my inauguration, was very acceptable to me.

OBSERVATIONS.

PLINY's epistle compleats three great festivals, which have been twice celebrated by him in *Bithynia*: the birth-day of TRAJAN, September the eighteenth^d: the *dies Cæsaris*, January the third^e: and TRAJAN's accession to the empire,

^d Ep. 18. Ep. 94.
^e Ep. 34. Ep. 107.

January the twenty seventh^f. The emperor now entered into the eighth year of his reign, and was in the forty fourth year of his age.

PLINY returned this year to *Italy*. The remaining epistles are requests for friends, or subjects relating to the province.

^f Ep. 38. Ep. 109.

E P I S T L E CXI.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

S UETONIUS TRANQUILLUS, Sir, is a man of so great knowledge, probity, and integrity, and I have so truly esteemed his virtues and his learning, that for some years past I have constantly made him my domestic companion; and the more I have known him, the more I have admired him.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
857.
TRAJAN.
8.

Two reasons seem to make the *Roman* privilege of the fathers, who have three children, allotted in a manner for him. The first is, he deserves the good opinion of all his friends: the second is, that he has not been very happy in his marriage.

By my means therefore let him procure from your goodness, that felicity, which the malignancy of his fate has hitherto denied him. I know, Sir, how very great a favour I ask: but I ask it from you, whose indulgence to all my desires I have ever found unlimited. You may imagine, with what earnestness I make this application; since I should not presume to ask such a favour till I waited upon you, if I were not uncommonly anxious to obtain my request.

EPISTLE CXII.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
857.
TRAJAN.
8.

YOU certainly remember, my dearest SECUNDUS, how very scrupulous I am, in conferring privileges of this sort^z, since I have often affirmed in the senate, that I had not encreased the number of persons, to whom I had originally granted these rights, and with which number I had declared myself contented. However, I have complied with your desire, and have ordered an entry to be made in the registers, that I have granted, in the usual manner, all the rights belonging to the fathers of three children, to SÜETONIUS TRANQUILLUS.

OBSERVATIONS.

It is not possible to know at what time, or from what place, PLINY'S epistle was addressed to TRAJAN. It is written in that warmth of friendship, which glows throughout all his letters.

Huic jus trium liberorum necessarium faciunt causæ. Give me leave to assign reasons, says PLINY, "why the rights, granted by the Pappian law, may be particularly beneficial to SÜETONIUS." *Nam et judicio amicorum promeretur, et parum felix matrimonium expertus est*: "He has not been very fortunate in his marriage, and he appears so eminently meritorious to his friends, that he ought to have the privilege of enjoying, in the most extensive manner, any bequests, which they may leave him when they dye." The words *judicia amicorum* refer to that part of the Pappian law, which entitled all those, who had the *jus trium liberorum*, to come freely into possession of legacies and bequests of every sort, notwithstanding any right, which the *patronus* might otherwise have claimed^h.

^z *Jus trium liberorum.*

^h See observations on epistle 13. book 2. page 138.

TRAJAN,

TRAJAN, in his answer to PLINY, shews himself averse to refuse any request, that comes recommended in such a manner, and by such a man: he even recedes from a determination, which he had almost fixed as inviolable, of not encreasing the number of those persons, to whom he had granted the *jus trium liberorum*, "the privileges of fathers, who had three children." The *Roman* rights and immunities had been formerly bestowed without number, and without distinction. Some of the preceding emperors had exercised their power in the most lavish and the most pernicious manner. TRAJAN pursued a different conduct. He avoided the paths of his predecessors, and put a restraint upon himself in the disposal of public grants and privileges: nor would he have broken thorough such a resolution, if he had not placed a kind of implicit confidence in the judgment and conduct of PLINY.

E P I S T L E CXIII.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

V ALERIUS PAULINUS, Sir, has bequeathed me the patronage of all his slaves, excepting one. I entreat you to grant to three of them the rights of *Roman* citizens. The latitude, I am afraid, would be too great, if I should ask the same favour for the rest; especially, as the more I enjoy your indulgence, the more moderately I ought to use it.

The names of the persons, for whom I make this request, are C. VALERIUS ÆSTIÆUS, C. VALERIUS DIONYSIUS, C. VALERIUS APER.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
857.
TRAJAN.
8.

E P I S T L E CXIV.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

Y OUR early sollicitation in favour of those persons, who are fallen under your patronage, by the bequest of VALERIUS PAULINUS, is so perfectly honourable, that I have given immediate orders to enroll,

From Rome.
A. U. C.
857.
TRAJAN.
8.

enroll, in the public registers, my grants of the rights of citizens to those, whom you named to me, and I am ready, upon your application, to grant the same rights to all the rest.

OBSERVATIONS.

VALERIUS PAULINUS could not have shewed greater kindness to his affranchised slaves, than by bequeathing them to the patronage of PLINY, whose generous manner of acting excited him to lose no time in endeavouring to extend the privileges, which they enjoyed by manumission, to the greater privileges of *Roman* citizens. The action is still more commendable; because by the law of the twelve tables, if the freedmen died intestate, their whole fortune was to be appropriated to the patron, or the children of that patron. *Si libertus intestato moritur, cui suus hæres nec extabit, patronus familiam habeto: eademque jura liberi patroni habento:* "When a freedman dies intestate, and without heirs, if his patron be alive, or has left children, let the effects of the freedman go to the family of his patronⁱ."

ⁱ This law had afterwards additions, or rather alterations made to it; but still the patron had a right over part of the goods of the freedman, as has been taken notice of in former observations.

EPISTLE CXV.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
857.
TRAJAN.
8.

IT is the custom with those, who assume the manly gown, who marry, who enter upon any magistracy, or who dedicate any public work, to invite the whole senate, and a large number of the plebeians, and to present one or two *denarii*^k to each particular guest; a custom, which I beg to know, whether you would have continued, and how long?

^k The *denarius* was the chief silver coin among the *Romans*, and was in value equal to 7 *d.* $\frac{3}{4}$.

For

For my own part, as I am of opinion, that these kind of invitations ought to be made upon certain solemn occasions ; so, on the other hand, am I apprehensive, that when an assembly consists of a thousand people or more, the proper bounds are exceeded, and it bears the appearance of a faction, rather than of an assembly.

E P I S T L E CXVI.

T R A J A N *to* P L I N Y.

YO U very justly apprehend, that some kind of From Rome.
A. U. C.
857.
T R A J A N.
8. faction may be the consequence of invitations, where the number is unlimited, and where presents are distributed, as it were, to whole societies, and not confined to particular friends, summoned together upon a solemn occasion. But, as I know your prudence, I have chosen you to moderate all the excesses of the province, and to establish such institutions, as may secure to it a perpetual tranquillity.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

The same kind of uneasiness, which we have already seen on account of assemblies and large congregations, shews itself again in the two last epistles : and therefore I have taken the liberty to give that turn to the translation. The last sentence in PLINY's epistle runs thus, *Et in speciem diamæries incidere videantur*. Some of the commentators explain *diamæries* by the word *factio*, " a faction." Others say, it should be read *dianomes*, which signifies *distributio vel sportula*, " gifts distributed upon public occasions : " or, as we may say relatively to this epistle, " bribes." In whatever sense the word is to be accepted, we must be convinced, that nothing more effectually awakens the jealousy and apprehensions either of TRAJAN or of PLINY, than meetings of the people, although on occasion seemingly peaceful and inoffensive. The Romans might probably be afraid of arts, to which they owed their own rise ; for Rome must have expired

pired in her infancy, if the *Sabines* had not been treacherously deluded by an assembly solemnly convened, under the specious appearance of mirth, piety, and friendship.

EPISTLE CXVII.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From
Nicomedia.
A. U. C.
857.
TRAJAN.
8.

THE wrestlers, Sir, imagine, that the salaries appointed by you for the games, which are iselastick, ought to commence from the day, on which the conquerors receive their crowns, without any regard to the time when they made their solemn return into their own country. They think themselves entitled to their reward, as soon as they become conquerors; because from that moment they might return home in a triumphant manner. I dissent from them: and while I am writing to you, I cannot avoid dwelling upon the name of those, who are called Iselasticks. It is from thence therefore, that I have my doubts, whether their rewards ought to commence at any time before they make their public entry.

The same wrestlers demand a prize in those games, which have been lately made by you iselastick; although they had conquered before the appointment of that institution. They assert, that in equity they ought to receive rewards in games, which are at present become iselastick, after having conquered in games, to which the iselastick honours, although lately suppressed, were formerly annexed. I hesitate again upon this point, and am unwilling to allow any retrospect, since in that case, it is possible they may receive rewards, to which they had no right when they conquered. I entreat therefore, that you would determine my doubts, or rather would condescend to explain fully your own acts of generosity.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE CXVIII.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

I AM of opinion, that the payment of the iselastic ^{From Rom.} rewards is to be affixed to the time, when the ^{A. U. C.} conqueror makes his entry into his own city. Prizes ^{857.} ascertained for those games, which I have made iselastic, and which were not so before my institution, ought not to be liable to any retrospect whatever: nor can it in the least avail in favour of the wrestlers, that I have established new iselastic games, or have suppressed others; for, although the different customs of these combats may be altered, the rewards, which have been received, are not retracted. ^{TRAJAN.} ^{8.}

OBSERVATIONS.

The epistle from PLINY is upon a point, which bears so little a resemblance to our customs, that we may excuse certain obscure paragraphs in the original, which are not very easily explained. PLINY writes to TRAJAN to receive his orders *de iselasticis certaminibus*.

The epithet *iselastic* alludes to a particular honour and reward attending the victors in those games, which, although originally Grecian, were practised and encouraged by the Romans. Let us recollect an explanatory comment upon this subject, in the preface to the ninth chapter of VITRUVIUS, *Nobilibus Athletis, qui Olympia, Pythia, Isthmia, Nemea, vicissent, Græcorum majores ita magnos honores constituerunt, uti non modo in conventu stantes cum palma et corona ferant laudes, sed etiam cum revertuntur in suas civitates cum victoria, triumphantes quadrigis in mœnia, et in patrias invehantur, è reque publica perpetua vita constitutis vestigalibus fruantur*: “The noble wrestlers, who conquered in the
 “Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean games, were
 “so amply rewarded by the antient Greeks, that they not
 “only received a crown and palm-branch, while they stood
 “encircled by the people, but when they returned from
 “these conquests into their native cities, they were carried
 “triumphantly

“ triumphantly home in chariots drawn by four horses
 “ through the walls, [a part of which was on those occa-
 “ sions broken down] and a yearly salary was allotted to
 “ them by the commonwealth during their lives.”

A quotation from SÜETONIUS may still assist us in a farther explanation of these games and ovations. *Reversus è Græcia Neapolim, quod in ea primum artem protulerat, albis equis introiit, disjectâ parte muri, ut mos hieronicarum est. Simili modo Antium, inde Albanum, inde Romam*¹: “ NERO,
 “ at his return to *Naples* from *Greece*, where he had exhi-
 “ bited the first essays of his art, made his entry, drawn
 “ by white horses, after he had thrown down part of the
 “ wall, as is the custom of persons, who contend in the
 “ sacred games. He went to *Antium*, to *Albanum*, and to
 “ *Rome*, in the same manner.

¹ SÜETONII Nero Claudius Cæsar, cap. 25.

EPISTLE CXIX.

PLINY to TRAJAN.

From
Nicomedia.
 A. U. C.
 857.
 TRAJAN.
 8.

I Have not till now, Sir, supplied any person what-
 ever with passports, nor have I employed a single
 messenger in any service, except your own. A case
 of necessity has interrupted this strict observance of
 my duty. My wife, having heard of the death of
 her grandfather, was desirous to make all possible
 haste to her aunt. As the merit of the visit consisted
 in the expedition, I thought it would be unkind to
 deny her a passport; especially as I was certain, that
 a journey, of which duty was the motive, could not
 fail of receiving your approbation.

This letter, Sir, is written from a consciousness,
 that must appear ungrateful, even in my own eye,
 if I omitted to mention the particular trust of pass-
 ports among many other acts of favour to me, which
 I am sensible are all owing to your indulgence. In
 confidence of that goodness, I have acted in the same
 manner, as if I had received your instructions; since
 in

in waiting for those instructions, the point of time must have been elapsed.

EPISTLE CXX.

TRAJAN to PLINY.

YOU have entertained very just impressions, my dearest SECUNDUS, of the sentiments of my heart. I am persuaded, if your wife had waited till you had applied to me for my license, those passports would not only have been of little service in forwarding her journey, but my intention in giving them, for your occasional purposes, would have been entirely lost; especially as the expedition of your wife's arrival must have endeared her to her aunt.

From Rome.
A. U. C.
857.
TRAJAN.
8.

OBSERVATIONS.

Here ends the series of TRAJAN's letters to PLINY: All filled with sense, spirit, dignity, and kindness. In this last, we see TRAJAN interesting himself in the speedy arrival of CALPURNIA, merely because he imagines, that the expedition of the journey may more effectually endear her to her aunt HISPULLA, whose situation, by the death of FABATUS, was rendered melancholy, and full of affliction. The emperor sympathizes in the grief of PLINY's family. He condescends to consider the minutest circumstance, that may, in some measure, alleviate the sorrow of CALPURNIA and her aunt. Such instances of tenderness were only to be produced by a heart filled with the truest affection. Graces and honours from princes are generally conferred in a public, and in a distant manner: they are intended to reflect a greater lustre upon the prince, who gives, than upon the subject, who receives the benefit. It must be a noble mind indeed, that could lay aside the pride of empire, and the government of the world, to fulfil the social, the amiable, and the virtuous character of a private friend.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE CXXI.

PLINY to TRAJAN

From
Nicomedia.
 A. U. C.
 857.
 TRAJAN.
 8.

MY last illness, Sir, laid me under such obligations to POSTHUMUS MARINUS, my physician, that I shall never be able to acquit myself to him unless with your usual goodness you indulge the petitions, which I now offer to you. I therefore entreat you, to bestow the rights of a *Roman* citizen upon his relations, CHRYSIPPUS son of MITHRIDATES, and upon STRATONICA the daughter of EPIGO, and the wife of CHRYSIPPUS: and I entreat the same favour for EPIGO and MITHRIDATES, the children of CHRYSIPPUS: so that they may be in the power of their father, and that they may preserve the right of patrons over their freedmen.

Let me also entreat you to indulge LUCIUS SATRIUS ABASCANTIUS, and PUBLIUS CÆSIUS PHOSPHORUS, and PANCARIAS SOTERIDES, with the rights of *Roman* citizens. I offer this petition to you, by the consent of their patrons.

OBSERVATIONS.

This epistle is placed by LONGOLIUS very early in the tenth book ^m, and follows a letter, in which PLINY returns thanks to the emperor, for having granted the rights of a citizen of *Alexandria* to HARPOCRATES. "Words, Sir, says PLINY, cannot express the joy, with which your letter has affected me, since I find by it, that you have granted the freedom of *Alexandria* to my physician HARPOCRATES." It seems improbable, (as I have hinted in the preface) that PLINY, as soon as he had gained his request for HARPOCRATES, should be immediately suing in favour of another physician. As the epistle is of little importance, let us suppose, that POSTHUMUS MARINUS was a *Bithynian*, and

^m Epistle 6.

that

that **PLINY**, before he left the province, was resolved to exert his gratitude [*parem gratiam referre*] for the skill and care, which **MARINUS** had shewn to him, during his illness in *Bithynia*. In consequence of such a conjecture I have placed the epistle.

EPISTLE CXXII.

PLINY to **TRAJAN**.

MY joy, Sir, is almost inexpressible upon finding, that at the intercession of my mother-in-law and me, you have granted the government of this province to **CÆLIUS CLEMENS**, at the expiration of his consulship. From hence I may always guess at the measure of your goodness to me, since I and my whole family experience so great an instance of your favour. I dare not attempt to offer you any return, although I owe it in so high a degree. I must therefore have recourse to prayers, and beseech the gods, that I may not be deemed unworthy of those benefits, which you daily bestow upon me.

From
Nicomedia,
A. U. C.
857.
TRAJAN,
8.

OBSERVATIONS.

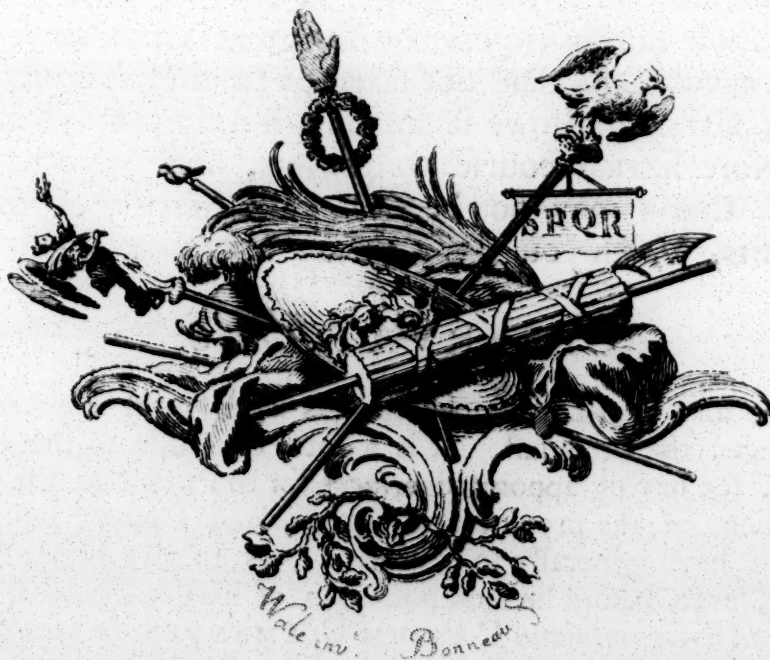
Not any of **PLINY**'s letters has been more apparently misplaced than this last. It is a letter of thanks to the emperor, for having appointed a successor to **PLINY** in the government of the provinces of *Bithynia* and *Pontus*: but the editors have generally so placed it^a, as to give him a successor, even before he took possession of his government.

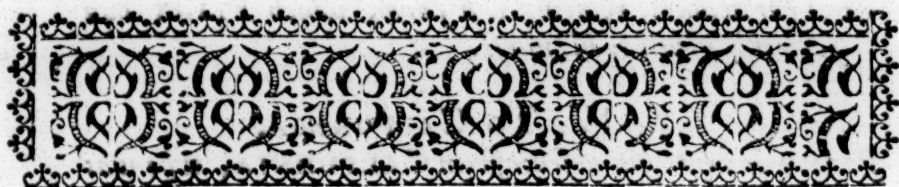
Ut ad finem consulatus CÆLIUM CLEMENTEM in hanc provinciam transferres: "I am rejoiced to find, that after the expiration of his present consulship, you will deign to invest **CÆLIUS CLEMENS** with the proconsular power of these provinces." **CAIUS CLEMENS** was [*consul suffectus*] "a substituted consul," for the months of March and April. The consuls of this year were **TIBERIUS JULIUS CANDIDUS**, and **AULUS JULIUS QUADRATUS**.

PLINY'S EPISTLES.

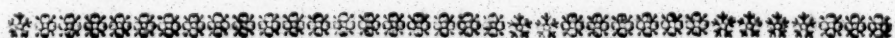
PLINY was now upon the point of leaving *Bithynia* : he had remained there about eighteen months ; and as his wife CALPURNIA was already returned to *Rome* , and as his successor was the person, whom he had not only wished, but in a manner had chosen to succeed him, we may presume, that unless he was detained by contrary winds, he arrived in *Italy* early in the summer.

The End of the TENTH BOOK.

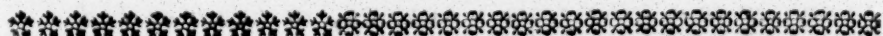




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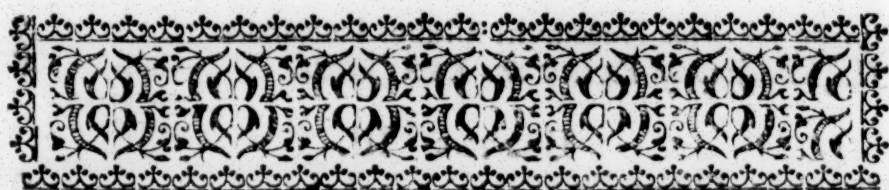
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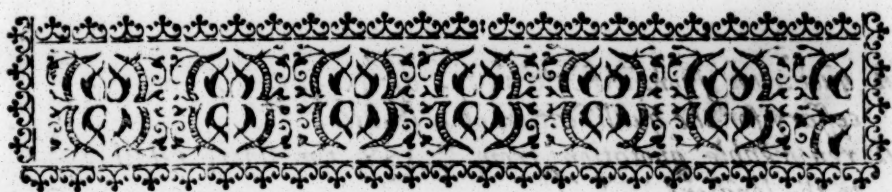
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The End of the SECOND VOLUME.

An Explanation of the COPPER PLATES in this
VOLUME.

PLATE I. BOOK VI.

PLINY at *Misenum* accompanied by his mother, and interrupted by one of his uncle's friends as he was reading LIVY, during the dreadful eruption of *Vesuvius*, described in the twentieth epistle.

II. The people of *Misenum* covering their heads with pillows, and endeavouring to escape from that city. Epistle the sixteenth.

BOOK VII.

I. An apparition appearing to ATHENODORUS the philosopher, at *Athens*. Epistle the twenty seventh.

II. The monument of PALLAS. Epistle the twenty ninth.

BOOK VIII.

I. The Clitumnean spring, and the temples of the god CLITUMNUS. Epistle the eighth.

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BOOK IX.

I. One of PLINY's country-houses (close to the Larian lake) called Comedia. Epistle the seventh.

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BOOK X.

I. In the frontispiece two medals: one of the emperor TRAJAN, and the other of the empress PLOTTINA: engraved from the originals in the collection of Doctor MEAD.

II. The theatre of *Nicea* unfinished. Epistle the sixty eighth.

III. Roman ensigns.

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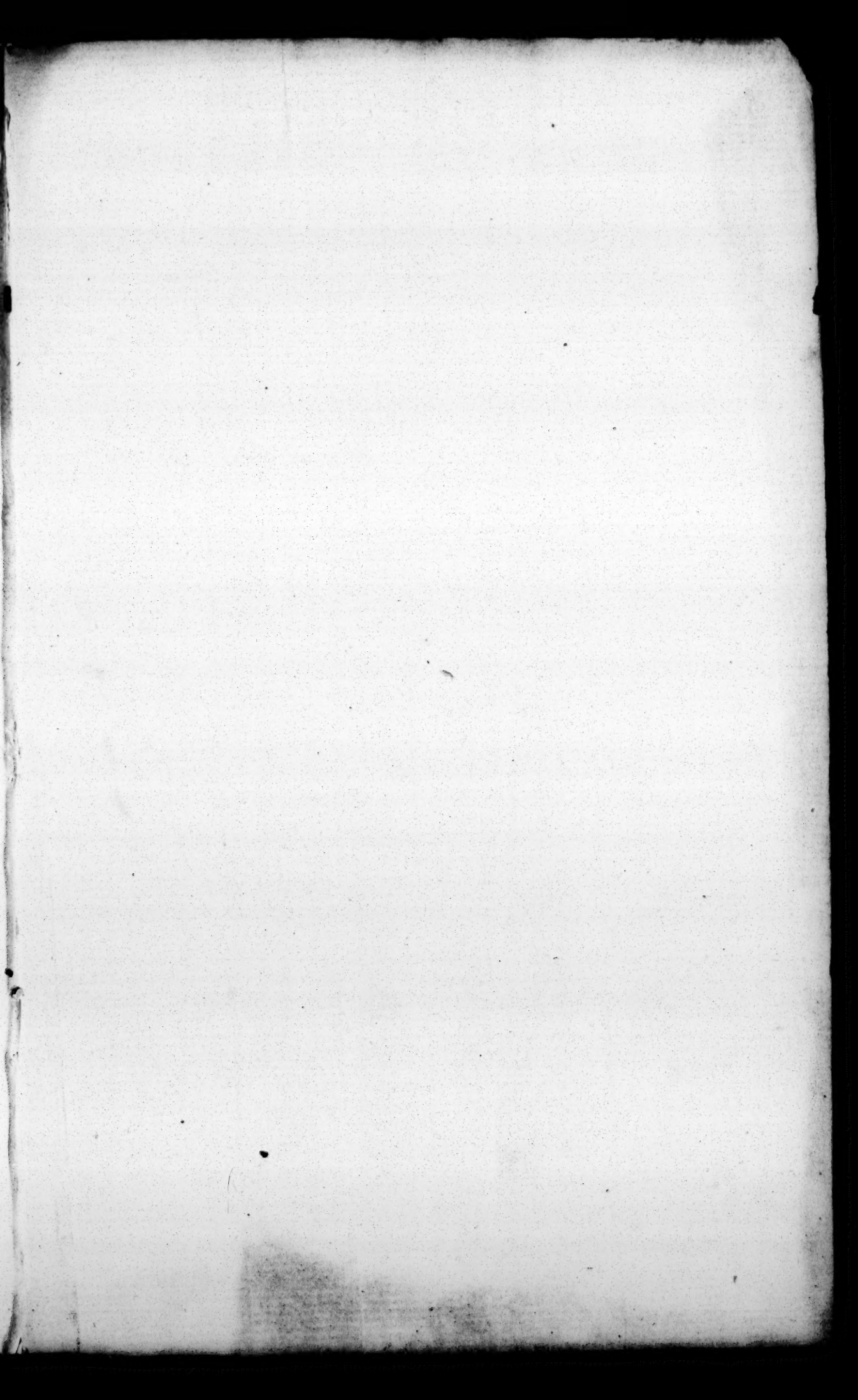
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